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NOTES AND NEWS.

THE EARLIEST KNOWN MSS. OF THE BIBLE.

IN our last issue we were able to announce the discovery, among the unpublished portions of the Rylands collection of Greek Papyri, of a small fragment of a papyrus codex of the Fourth Gospel, which upon investigation proved to have been written not later than the first half of the second century, and by some authorities it has been placed in the first quarter of that century. Consequently it is the earliest known fragment of the New Testament.

The fragment was identified by Mr. C. H. Roberts, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, who edited it for the press. It was published in the January issue of the BULLETIN, and also as a separate monograph.

Now comes news of another discovery scarcely less sensational and important than that of the St. John fragment. It consists of fragments of a papyrus roll of the Book of Deuteronomy in the Greek Version of the Septuagint, which are of particular interest, since they were written in the second century B.C. Hitherto no manuscript of any part of the Bible has been found which is earlier than the second century A.D., so that these fragments are some three hundred years earlier than any other manuscript of the Bible in any language (the earliest Hebrew manuscript is very much later), and bring us near to the period when, according to ancient tradition, the first Greek translation of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament was made in Alexandria in the third century B.C.

These fragments, the only pre-Christian evidence for the text of the Old Testament, are of further interest since, although small and incomplete, they enable us to form definite conclusions as to the type of text prevalent at the time they were written.

They formed, when found, part of a piece of mummy cartonnage, i.e. papyrus torn up and stuck together with glue and then coated with plaster to form wrapping for a mummy. In the same piece of cartonnage were fragments of Greek and Demotic documents, and rolled round one fragment of the Deuteronomy was a strip of a roll of Homer's *Iliad*, Book I. The cartonnage may well have come from the Fayum province of Egypt, where it is known that Jewish communities and synagogues existed at this time. To one of these the Deuteronomy text probably belonged.

With the Deuteronomy fragment we have published a fragment of a papyrus codex of a Testimony Book, i.e. a collection of passages from the Old Testament designed to prove the truth of Christian claims, the type of book used by Christian missionaries to refute or convert the Jews, which is of some importance for the early history of Christian literature. The text was written in the fourth century, and also comes from the Fayum.

These fragments form part of a collection of papyri acquired for the library as long ago as 1917, by Dr. Rendel Harris, during an enforced sojourn in Egypt, and it will not be out of place briefly to recall the circumstances under which the papyri were acquired.

In the month of November, 1916, Dr. Harris set out to join his friend, Professor James Hope Moulton, in India, whither he had gone in 1915, to visit the Parsee communities. Unfortunately, the boat on which Dr. Harris travelled, the *City of Birmingham*, was torpedoed and sunk in the Mediterranean. In consequence of exposure for two days in an open boat, Dr. Harris's health suffered, and he decided not to continue his journey to Bombay, but to remain in Egypt, there to await the return of Dr. Moulton, so as to make the journey back to England in company with him. Together they sailed on the ill-fated *City of Paris*, and for a second time Dr. Harris suffered all the horrors of exposure in an open boat following the sinking of the ship, but on this occasion he experienced in addition the unspeakable grief of witnessing the passing over of his beloved friend, who succumbed to weakness following exposure and his laborious ministrations to the other occupants of the boat.

During Dr. Harris's stay in Egypt, he busied himself in hunting papyri, and succeeded in making some important finds, some of which have been published in these pages. He found the city dealers' prices prohibitive, so he migrated to the country, visiting certain interesting ruins, where he found many of the *fellahin* had secret stocks of papyri hidden away in corners of their dwellings. Many of these hordes were acquired, and to-day form part of the Rylands collection. Fortunately, Dr. Harris did not attempt to carry his finds with him on the ill-fated ship, but left them in safe custody in Egypt, until such time as they could be transported to England without risk.

Mr. Roberts, who was responsible for the discovery and identification of the Fragment of the Fourth Gospel, again, in the course of a hurried examination of this collection, was attracted by the piece of mummy cartonnage, and decided to make an attempt to separate the various layers of this piece of amalgam, with what startling results is now made clear.

In the separate monograph, which will have been published before these pages are in circulation, Mr. Roberts has dealt in a most illuminating manner with the documents and their significance. The volume is uniform with that which deals with the "Fragment of the Fourth Gospel." It is bound in the same manner, and is issued at the same price of half-a-crown (postage threepence), and may be obtained from the Librarian, or from the Manchester University Press.

ERASMUS AND TINDALE.

The latter half of the year 1936 marks the four-hundredth anniversary of the death of two of the world's most famous scholars.

On the 12th of July, 1536, in the seventieth year of his age, Erasmus, the humanist, scholar, and man of letters, who had become the greatest literary figure in Europe, passed peacefully to his rest in the hospitable home of Jerome Froben, the son of his old friend Johann Froben, the printer, at Basel.

Death found him with his pen in his hand, absorbed in the task of restoring the Greek text of Origen; and with the words on his lips: "Oh, Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy upon me! I will sing of the mercy of God and of His judgment," he

laid himself down in the chamber called Peace. This was the scholar to whom Tindale looked up as "master and spiritual guide."

Erasmus never left the Church of Rome, though he refused again and again to enlist in its service against the Reformers.

TINDALE.

On Friday, the 6th of October, 1536, within three months of the death of Erasmus, William Tindale, who more than any other man has left the impress of his scholarship and personality upon the history of our national Bible and has so unalterably moulded it, when in the prime of life (less than fifty years of age) was sentenced to death, on the charge of heresy, by his unrelenting enemies, and after being first strangled, his body was burned at the stake.

The only offence that could be laid to Tindale's charge was that he had denounced the so-called Spirituality, which had taken away the key of truth, and had beggared the people. He was willing to dare all, and if needs be to die, in order to expose the infamy of the Church, and set men free from the debasing teaching of its hideous hypocrisy.

Like Wiclif, nearly two centuries earlier, he maintained that the doctrines and practises of the Church which he assailed had no warrant or foundation in Scripture, and he held that the surest way to put an end to ecclesiastical superstition and presumption was to acquaint the people with the Bible, and to this end he resolved that with God's help he would give to the people of England the Word of God in their own tongue, and he did not shrink from the sacrifice, not only of country but also of life, in favour of this self-imposed task.

In commemoration of the deaths of these two scholars, both of whom, in a greater or lesser degree, have left the influence of their character upon our English Bible, we have ventured to include elsewhere in the present issue, brief outlines of the most noteworthy incidents in their eventful lives.

GIFT OF A COLLECTION OF BIBLES.

We have pleasure in announcing the gift of a most valuable collection of books, which has been presented to the Library by Mrs. Hartland of Hardwick Court, Chepstow, in memory of her late husband, Mr. Ernest Hartland, M.A., F.S.A., J.P.

The gift consists of 3,500 printed books, ranging in date from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century, and thirty manuscripts, the earliest of which are of the thirteenth century.

The Rylands collection of Bibles, in particular, will be greatly strengthened by these accessions.

A proportion of the printed books included in the gift prove to be duplicates of copies already in the possession of the Library, and these, with the ready consent of Mrs. Hartland, are to be offered in her name to the University of Manchester, where they will be welcomed to form part of the equipment of the new library building, which is shortly to be dedicated to the service of the staff and students of the University.

The collection comprises 2,000 Bibles, and about 1,500 volumes of a miscellaneous character, including thirty-two *incunabula*, which will form most welcome additions to our shelves.

We cannot do more than take a very hurried survey of the collection, but a brief reference to the range of the collection of Bibles, and of the manuscripts, will not be out of place. There are fine copies of the Antwerp, the London, and the Paris Polyglots. The Hebrew Bibles number upwards of a hundred, including the second and fourth Bomberg editions.

Of the Septuagint Greek Version there are copies of almost every known printed edition, and of the Greek New Testament there are at least three hundred different editions, commencing with the three earliest duoglots of Erasmus.

The collection of Latin Bibles is very representative, consisting, as it does, of 65 editions of the Vulgate printed before 1500, followed by later editions of the Vulgate and of other Latin versions to the number of 300 of the sixteenth century, 117 of the seventeenth century, 97 of the eighteenth century, and 60 of the nineteenth century.

Indeed, so comprehensive is the range of the collection that the Bible or parts of it, where the whole Bible has not been issued, is found to be represented in not fewer than three hundred and fifty languages and dialects.

The nucleus of the collection was acquired by Mr. Hartland from Dr. Walter Arthur Copinger who was resident in Manchester from 1870 down to the time of his death in 1910.

Dr. Copinger found rest and relaxation from his heavy professional work at the Bar, and also, in turn, as lecturer, professor, and finally as dean of the faculty of law in the University of Manchester, in bibliographical and antiquarian pursuits. It was largely owing to his efforts, coupled with those of Chancellor Copley Christie, that the Bibliographical Society was founded in London in 1892, of which Dr. Copinger was the first president.

Copinger was an ardent collector, and accumulated some remarkable collections, among others of the " Imitatio Christi" of Thomas à Kempis ; of books printed by the Elzevirs ; and in particular of editions of the Bible, with the object of illustrating the progress of the text of the Bible in the various languages into which it had been translated.

Of his Bible collection he printed, from time to time, as the collection grew, hand-lists, and in 1893 he printed a " Catalogue of the Copinger Collection of Editions of the Latin Bible, with bibliographical particulars " ; followed, in 1892, by " Incunabula Biblica ; or the first half-century of the Latin Bible . . . 1450 to 1500 " ; and in 1897, by " The Bible and its transmission, being an historical and bibliographical view of the Hebrew and Greek texts, and the Greek, Latin and other versions of the Bible both MS. and printed."

It was this collection that Mr. Hartland acquired, and which, down to the time of his death, he was systematically developing, little dreaming that, in course of time, it would return to the city where it had its beginnings under the direction of Dr. Copinger.

In " Incunabula Biblica " Copinger records 124 editions of the Latin Bible printed before 1500, and several suppositious editions. Of these, the Rylands collection now includes copies of 83 editions, thirty of which are derived from the Hartland bequest.

THE HARTLAND MANUSCRIPTS.

The thirty manuscripts, to which passing reference has been made above, constitute a very real and acceptable addition to the Rylands collection of manuscripts, the character of which will be gathered from the following paragraphs :

Of the thirty manuscripts, ranging from the thirteenth to the early twentieth century, three were formerly in the Phillipps collection. Nineteen of the manuscripts are Latin, including a number of Bibles and New Testaments, mostly of German provenance. Two of the Bibles in particular call for attention, one (early fourteenth century) for its beautiful hand, and fifteenth century binding—it has been a chained book—and the other, a typical small Bible of the late thirteenth century, for its historiated initials; the latter, probably a French production, contains one hundred and sixty-six illuminated capitals, sixty-eight of which contain figures of the evangelists, prophets and kings or of animals, birds and grotesques. Another fourteenth century Bible was formerly owned by Frederick II of Hohenzollern, bishop of Augsburg (*d.* 1505), and was later in the library of Cardinal Melchior von Diepenbrock, Prince-Bishop of Breslau (*d.* 1853). Among the Latin manuscripts are also a fine Antiphoner of the fifteenth century, and a volume, in a German hand of about the middle of the same century, containing Jordanus von Quedlingburg's *Postillæ*, and *Articuli LXV super passione Domini* with a number of his sermons.

Manuscripts in English are few but varied. One, headed "The Negotiations of Thomas Woolsey, Cardinall" contains copies (seventeenth century) of the letters sent and received from Henry VIII's ambassadors at Rome and elsewhere which are in Harl. MS. 6260. The name *R. Farmer* on the inner cover shows that it has belonged to the Rev. Richard Farmer (1735-97), D.D., Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and Librarian of the University; it is numbered 8102 in the Sale Catalogue of Farmer's Library (1798). Another volume contains collections made in the eighteenth century relating to Richard Boyle, first earl of Cork (1566-1643), and includes, among other things, copies of his Will, his Decree of Innocency as to the Irish rebellion of 1641, and his True Remembrances. There is an interesting manuscript owned, and apparently written, by Thomas Warton (1728-90), the poet-laureate and historian of English poetry; it contains a *Calendarium Doctorum* or *Calendar Contayning the Births & Obits of y^e^ most famous writers of Britain* written about 1770, verses in Latin to John Rous, and *Canons*

of Etymology, the last dated 19th May, 1787. With these manuscripts may be noted a sketch-book of the famous engraver and draughtsman, Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-77), in which most of the drawings and sketches are in pen and ink, but a number are in pencil, and one or two in red crayon. They cover the years *c.* 1626-52, and are for the most part views of Germany (chiefly towns along the Rhine, *c.* 1631-35) and the Netherlands (chiefly Amsterdam, Leyden and Delfshaven, 1634); the two earliest are of Prague (1626 and 1627) and some of the latest are of London (*c.* 1643-45). Apart from the actual manuscripts, there is a considerable collection of materials relating to the Abyssinian explorer, Dr. C. T. Beke (1800-74). Dr. Beke made his first journey to Abyssinia in 1840, returning in 1843, and his journal, diary and other papers relating to his travels there were given by his widow to the British Museum (now Add. MSS. 30,247-30,258); they were used by Sir E. Wallis Budge in his *History of Ethiopia*. The materials in the present collection relate to a later journey, the mission which Beke undertook to King Theodore of Abyssinia in 1865-66 in connection with the "Magdala affair" and include a full autograph account of the part he played in the release of Capt. Cameron, H.B.M.'s Consul in Abyssinia, and other British subjects and missionaries imprisoned by Theodore at Magdala; the account is called "Four Months in Abyssinia," and is marked *To be published*. With it may be mentioned a parchment copy of the appeal to Theodore for the release of the captives, drawn up by their relatives, and correspondence intended to be appended to "Four Months in Abyssinia"; for example, an original letter of Cameron from Magdala prison [10th Dec., 1866]. Finally, there is a manuscript volume of over two hundred folios relating to Beke's career and to Abyssinia from 1836 (in which year he became British Acting Consul at Leipzig) to 1874, with numerous extracts from official correspondence.

There are two Flemish manuscripts and one German manuscript, all of the second half of the fifteenth century. One of the Flemish manuscripts is a small volume of prayers and devotional maxims, and the other a Book of Hours, unfortunately imperfect but with four large illuminated initials and a number of fine

decorated borders. The German manuscript is a collection of prayers in the Bavarian dialect.

ALEXANDER McLAREN'S BIBLE.

Another gift which has a very special interest for the Library, and which will be given an honoured place upon its shelves, is the Bible which for many years was the constant companion of the Reverend Dr. Alexander McLaren, both in his study and in the pulpit.

It is a copy of the Authorised Version, printed at the Oxford University Press in 1838, Ruby 8vo, which has been interleaved throughout with thin strong paper, and is brimming over with Dr. McLaren's scholarly annotations, consisting of alternative readings, translations, and pungent expository notes.

The Bible was presented to the Library by the widow of Alastor McLaren, the Doctor's only son, who for reasons of health made his home in the Antipodes many years ago, where he was laid to rest. Following upon her husband's death, Mrs. McLaren is visiting the homeland and herself entrusted the precious Bible to our care.

Dr. McLaren was a Governor of the Library from the time of its inauguration in 1899 down to the time of his death in 1910. At the inaugural ceremony, in expressing thanks to Mrs. Rylands on behalf of the Free Churches, Dr. McLaren said there was a vital necessity that the ministry of the churches should be destinctively and strongly a learned and cultured ministry, and that, he was afraid, they could not flatter themselves was the case at that time.

LETTERS AND PAPERS OF THE JOHNSON CIRCLE.

At the beginning of 1931 the Rylands collection of English manuscripts was greatly enriched by the acquisition of upwards of three thousand letters and other manuscript matter, including note-books, deeds, and family papers of Johnsonian interest, which had once belonged to Mrs. Thrale-Piozzi, much of which was at the time unpublished.

The collection has since been reduced to order and made accessible by means of a short hand-list with a full index.

The importance of the collection was immediately apparent,

for quite apart from its Johnsonian interest it is clearly invaluable as providing new material relating to many prominent literary figures of the eighteenth-century.

The greatest interest naturally lies in the contribution which the collection makes to our knowledge of Dr. Johnson. Many of the letters contain references to him, and throw a flood of new light upon the intimate relationship which existed between the Thrale family and their trusted friend and adviser for more than twenty years, especially upon the life at Streatham Place, which both Johnson and the Thrales delighted to call "home."

There are twenty (at that time unpublished) letters of Dr. Johnson to Mrs. Thrale, which have since been edited by Professor J. D. Wright and published in these pages (Vol. 16, pp. 32 to 76), also separately.[1]

Of letters from Mrs. Thrale to Dr. Johnson there are upwards of a hundred still unpublished, in addition to the letters included in the two volumes published in 1788.

The collection also includes many of the published and unpublished works of Mrs. Thrale in her own handwriting, one of which is of particular interest as containing Mrs. Thrale's own journal of the tour in France which Dr. Johnson made in company with Mr. and Mrs. Thrale, between 15th September and the 11th November, 1775, the only time in his life that Dr. Johnson went to the Continent. This diary kept by Mrs. Thrale throughout the tour, was unknown until it came to light amongst the papers contained in the collection. It has now been edited and published.[2]

The original collection has now been added to by the acquisition of some hundred and twenty letters, and other papers, presenting further information concerning the character and relationships of the great circle immortalised by Boswell. There are letters addressed to Dr. Johnson, Mr. Thrale, and upwards of a hundred to Mrs. Thrale from various correspondents.

[1] *Some Unpublished Letters to and from Dr. Johnson*, edited by J. D. Wright, 8vo, pp. 55, price 2s. Manchester University Press.

[2] *The French Journals of Mrs. Thrale and Doctor Johnson*, edited from the original MSS. . . . with introduction and notes. 8vo, pp. xii, 276. Bound, 7s. 6d. Manchester University Press.

Mr. Clifford, the writer who contributed to our last issue, an interesting article of "The Printing of Mrs. Piozzi's anecdotes of Dr. Johnson," has kindly undertaken to describe the new material, and to comment upon its importance in throwing new light upon certain obscure places in this well-nigh inexhaustible study (see pp. 268-85). Mr. Clifford, who is a graduate of Columbia University, New York, has been for some time engaged in the collection of material for what we hope and believe will be, the authoritative biography of Mrs. Thrale-Piozzi, and has spent considerable time with the Rylands collection, which he has found indispensable for his purpose.

MRS. THRALE OF STREATHAM.

Mr. Vulliamy, in his recently published volume, *Mrs. Thrale of Streatham*, has given us a readable piece of biography, but from which only a very distorted picture of Dr. Johnson's friend is to be obtained.

Mr. Vulliamy has allowed his imagination to lead him astray. Had he made himself familiar with the mass of manuscript material in the Rylands Library, to which reference is made in the preceding paragraphs, he would have avoided many of the errors of fact and mis-statements in which his volume abounds. Instead of making use of this first-hand evidence, he has preferred to employ only part of the printed evidence, ignoring completely all the other sources which would have enabled him to give his readers a much more faithful and pleasant picture of the lady. The references within brackets preceding the following paragraphs are to pages in Mr. Vulliamy's volume.

(P. 34.) For the main facts of Mrs. Thrale's early life, we do not now have to depend solely on her own fragmentary excerpts. There are hundreds of letters and manuscripts giving first-hand evidence with which to check and substantiate her later collections.

(P. 48.) Mrs. Thrale's marriage portion was not "hypothetical." Actual legal evidence exists which proves that Henry Thrale did receive £10,000 with Miss Salusbury's hand in marriage.

(P. 160.) If Mr. Vulliamy had taken the most cursory glance at the many unpublished manuscripts of Mrs. Thrale in the

Rylands Library and in America he would not have been left in any doubt as to her " extraordinary endowments."

(P. 242.) Mr. Vulliamy makes the statement that when Mrs. Piozzi began to write her *Anecdotes of Dr. Johnson* she had " no literary materials, no references ; but she would trust to her memory." Obviously he has forgotten the famous " Thraliana " diary, and in addition there are in the John Rylands collection separate leaves from an even earlier Journal which she had used solely for Johnsonian anecdotes. Mrs. Piozzi had at her disposal in Italy at least three or four diaries filled with contemporary entries. What she did not have with her were her many letters from Dr. Johnson.

(Pp. 257-8.) One hundred and ten letters from Mrs. Thrale to Dr. Johnson which have never been published exist in the Rylands collection, yet Mr. Vulliamy prefers to quote from the few questionable printed versions.

(P. 261) Mrs. Piozzi received letters from a variety of other correspondents, and wrote long letters to them full of important biographical information. By considering only two or three of her series of letters a one-sided, ill-balanced judgment may be formed.

(P. 265.) The " insignificant hangers-on " who gathered about Mrs. Piozzi in Florence in 1785 included Ippolito Pindemonte and Lorenzo Pignotti, two of the most eminent poets in Italy of that day. (See *Italy in English Literature* 1755-1815, by Dr. Roderick Marshall, pp. 173-99.)

(P. 311.) In connection with Mrs. Piozzi's very close intimacy with the Siddons family, Mr. Vulliamy should have read their affectionate correspondence, and the later statement of the poet, Thomas Campbell, in his life of Mrs. Siddons.

Mrs. Thrale-Piozzi was a very voluminous writer, and only a small percentage of her letters and diaries have been published. In many cases that which has not been edited is of more importance than the portion which has seen the light of day.

The world of scholarship has suffered a grevious loss by the death of Dr. Montague Rhodes James, O.M., which took plact at Eton on Friday, the 12th of April, in his seventy-third year.

MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES.

The son of the Reverend H. James, Rector of Livermore in Suffolk, "Monty" James was born on the 1st of August, 1862. He was educated at Temple Grove School, East Sheen, not far from Bury St. Edmunds, where he early formed an affection for the Abbey and the monks who read and wrote there. Thence he passed to Eton as a King's Scholar in 1875.

He was of little use at games, we are told, but was a voracious reader, and early developed an interest in Apocryphal literature, which remained with him throughout life.

In 1882 he went to Cambridge as an Eton Scholar of King's College, where he met Henry Bradshaw, and like other scholars, followed him in many respects, for they had many tastes in common. There he made some of his most enduring friendships.

After gaining several prizes and scholarships, in 1886, when he was Chancellor's medallist, he became assistant director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, a post which he continued to hold under Dr. Middleton, until he succeeded his chief as Director in 1893. He was Director until 1908.

After taking his degree in 1885, he wrote a dissertation for the Fellowship, to which he was elected in 1887, on "The Apocalypse of Peter." This was followed in subsequent years by "The Psalms of Solomon," "The Testament of Abraham," "Apocrypha Anecdota," and "The Fourth Book of Esdras," a line of study which culminated in 1924 in "The Apocryphal New Testament." He also published several volumes of ghost stories.

From 1887 he was in turn Divinity Lecturer, Dean, Tutor, and in 1905 Provost of King's College. In 1918 he was called upon to succeed Dr. Warre as Provost of Eton, a position which he held until his death. He was the only man who had filled the office of Provost in both the sister institutions of King Henry VI.

Whilst in charge of the Fitzwilliam, Dr. James produced the catalogue of their MSS., and also of those of Eton. These were followed by catalogues of the collections in the Cambridge colleges of King's, Jesus, Sidney Sussex, Peterhouse, Trinity, Emmanuel, Pembroke, Clare, Christ's, Queen's, Gonville and Caius, Magdalene, Corpus Christi, and St. John's ; the Lambeth

Palace Collection; the Latin manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, and the private collections of Mr. Yates Thompson, and Mr. Pierpont Morgan. By means of these catalogues, he has added enormously to our knowledge of the manuscript treasures for so long simply buried in the libraries of the colleges.

Dr. James developed an uncanny power of identifying the provenance, even the actual writer of many of the manuscripts which he resuscitated. The writer has happy recollections of his exuberant joy at the discovery, on one occasion, in Sion College, of two Bury books, which he identified from the position of the rust marks made by the staple of the chain on the fore edge.

Dr. James received the Order of Merit in 1930. Honorary doctorates were conferred upon him: Cambridge made him Litt.D., and D.D., Oxford a D.C.L., Dublin a D.Litt., and St. Andrews an LL.D. He was fellow of the British Academy, a trustee of the British Museum, the Bibliographical Society gave him its gold medal. He served on the Royal Commissions on Public Records, on the Universities, and on Historical Monuments. He also edited no fewer than twelve works for the Roxburghe Club, of which he was a member. The bare enumeration of the titles of his publications would fill many of our pages.

The ranks of mediæval historians have been thinned by the death of three scholars, who from time to time have been valued contributors to these pages.

MAUDE V. CLARKE.

By the death of Miss M. V. Clarke, Fellow and Vice-Principal of Somerville College, at the early age of forty-three, Oxford has lost a teacher of considerable power, and a scholar whose intensive research work had won the respect of experts. Her special field of interest was the constitutional history of England in the fourteenth century, and her promised volume in the new *Oxford History of England* was looked forward to with eagerness by those who were familiar with Miss Clarke's work. She had recently been engaged on a study of "Medieval Representation and Consent," which we understand is in the press.

In 1930 Miss Clarke, in collaboration with Mr. V. H. Galbraith, contributed to the BULLETIN the original text of an anonymous chronicle, "Chronique de la Traison et Mort de

Richard Deux," from a fifteenth-century MS. in the library of Gray's Inn, which supplies weighty evidence for a restatement of the facts regarding the deposition of Richard II. Other neglected material which came to light in the course of the researches of the editors showed a similar inconsistency with the accepted story, and the convergence of such various and independent evidence suggested the reconsideration of the fall of Richard, which is dealt with in the second part of the study.

CHARLES G. CRUMP.

Mr. Crump, whose death took place on the 11th December, 1935, retired from the Public Record Office in 1923, after thirty-five years of service, during which he had done much for the furtherance of study and interest in our national archives. Much of his labour had been given to making smooth the path for other workers in the fields of historical research, and we recall with gratitude a short article which he contributed to our pages in 1924, "A Note on the Criticism of Records," in which he called attention to the tendency in the academic world to use record sources rather uncritically, and ventured the suggestion that a student should criticise his records before he uses them, for in all forms of study immersion must precede natation. His principal work was in the editing of "The Book of Fees," the "Calendar of Charter Rolls," and, jointly with others, the "Dialogus de Scaccario." He is perhaps best known for his modest little works on "The Logic of History," and "History and Historical Research."

JAMES FIELD WILLARD.

Professor Willard, whose death took place on the 2nd of November, 1935, held the Chair of History in the University of Colorado. He was a vigorous leader among American medievalists, but he was a welcome visitor to this country, where his sound scholarship and broad human sympathies had won him a host of friends. His services to Anglo-American scholarship were many. He was founder and editor of "Progress of Medieval Studies," an annual survey of work in progress in American Universities, and was a leading spirit in the creation of the Medieval Academy in America. His book on "Parliamentary Taxes on Personal Property,

1290-1334," embodied the results of many years of study in the records of English medieval financial administration. The scheme which he had projected for the publication of a series of monographs by specialists on "The English Government at work, 1327-36," will have to be carried out without him. Professor Willard was a constant visitor to the Rylands Library, where he had gained the affectionate regard of the officials. He contributed to the BULLETIN (Vol. 7, 1923), an interesting article on an exchequer tally of the year 1293, given to John d'Abernon of the county of Surrey, as a receipt for a fine or composition made by him for a debt owed by his father to the Crown.

JAMES HENRY BREASTED.

Just two years ago, we had to deplore the loss of two of our leading authorities in the science of Egyptology through the passing of Professors F. Llewellyn Griffith and Thomas Eric Peet. Now comes news of the death of Professor James Henry Breasted, Director of the Oriental Institute in the University of Chicago, who passed away in New York, on the 2nd of December, in his seventy-first year, shortly after his return from a prolonged visit to Europe, and to the excavations being carried out by his organisation.

Professor Breasted was America's greatest Orientalist, and one of the greatest organisers of archæological research the world has known. He was born in Rockford, Illinois, 27th August, 1865. He graduated from North Central College, Naperville, in 1888, and studied for the ministry at the Chicago Theological Seminary, where he became interested in Hebrew and Semitic studies generally. He proceeded to Yale to continue his study of Hebrew under Rainey Harper, and was sent by the latter to Berlin, in order to devote himself to Egyptian under Erman. In 1894 Breasted received his Ph.D. there, with a Latin thesis on the famous hymn of Ikhnaton to the sun. From 1894 to his death he remained at the University of Chicago, rising from the rank of instructor to that of Distinguished Service Professor and Director of the Oriental Institute.

Breasted published many works of outstanding importance. His "History of Egypt" (1905) was the first history of the Nile Valley in the modern sense to be written, which speedily became

the standard history of Egypt. This was followed by five volumes of " Ancient Records of Egypt " (1905-07), based on personal collation and critical analysis of all available Egyptian historical texts. The next few years were occupied partly with the publication of the results of his expedition in Egypt (1905-07), and partly with the studies in Egyptian religious literature which led to the epoch-making little volume " Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt " (1912). Meanwhile, he began the publication of a series of popular histories, culminating in " Ancient Times : a history of the ancient world " (1916), which won immediate success as a text-book.

After the foundation of the Oriental Institute in 1919, Breasted was too busy with the work of organisation to devote as much time to his literary activities as hitherto had been possible. He did produce, however, some substantial works, notably the " Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus," in two massive volumes (1930). Of the more popular of his writings mention should be made of " The Conquest of Civilisation " (1926), and " The Dawn of Conscience " (1933).

It is impossible as yet to form any adequate idea of the far-reaching influence and importance of the work of the Oriental Institute. Mention can only be made of a few of the great undertakings which Breasted launched, whether in Egypt, or in Asia with the great work of the Iraq Expedition, and the equally important Assyrian Dictionary, with the undertaking at Persepolis which yielded thirty thousand inscribed tablets, the excavations in Cappadocia, the North Syrian Expedition, and the ten-year excavations at the Megiddo. Such was the multiplicity of the dazzling projects which Breasted launched, as one writer has remarked, that it is not always possible to see them in their broad perspective.

Breasted's work was recognised and rewarded by numerous academies and learned societies. Oxford, in 1922, conferred upon him the Litt.D., and he held honorary fellowships and memberships in many lands. The writer enjoyed many years of friendly communication with Dr. Breasted, whose kindly letters of encouragement will be sorely missed.

On Wednesday, the 20th of May, the University of Manchester commemorated its founders "the renowned and the obscure, those who gave great gifts of their abundance and those who gave small gifts of their penury," when the customary ceremonial was observed, and five honorary graduands were presented to the Chancellor. MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY COMMEMORATION.

The celebration, which took place in the Whitworth Hall, was presided over by the Chancellor, the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, who in opening the proceedings referred to the increased recognition of the University by the public authorities. The Chancellor said it was gratifying that when the two Lancashire Universities approached the Lancashire and the Cheshire County Councils last autumn, asking for an increase in their annual grants, they were not only received with sympathy but were given substantial additions to the usual grants. From other public authorities they continued to receive valuable assistance. Recently the Manchester University had for the first time received a grant from a non-county borough—Stretford. As a non-county borough Stretford was not an autonomous educational unit, and therefore it seemed to him that Stretford deserved a special expression of thanks. He hoped Stretford's good example would be followed by others.

Having been so well received by county councils and town councils, it was impossible for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when receiving a deputation representing every University in the country, to give it other than a cordial reception, and Manchester would receive its share in the increased bounty which was to be distributed through the University Grants Commission.

He was glad to think that private benefaction continued active and bounteous. This growing recognition by public and private benefaction connoted a steadily growing responsibility on the part of the University which the University fully recognised. He believed that the University was well fitted to carry that increased burden of responsibility. "I believe," said Lord Crawford, "that our organisation, our staff and our aspirations justify confidence in our continued success."

The five honorary graduands were presented to the Chancellor by Professor J. L. Stocks, in the following felicitous terms :—

Mr. Charles Holden, presented for the degree of Doctor of Letters: "I present to you a master builder whose supreme gift for plain and direct statement in architecture has received the highest recognition by the recent award of the Royal Gold Medal. He has an immense variety of buildings to his credit, but all have this in common: they are no mere façades or elevations, but conceived in the solid and planned in three dimensions. He is equally ready to abet the Underground in belying its name, and to assist the vast federation of colleges which calls itself London University in the heroic effort to earn the name by which it is called. In the service of the former he has given a new palace to Westminster, and in the service of the latter he is now occupied in giving Bloomsbury a new backbone.

"He confesses that he has been possessed from youth by a passion for elimination, and he has chosen himself for his motto the maxim: When in doubt, leave it out. Having washed his own hands of ornament, he calls in sculptors to pander to this human weakness; but unfortunately the artists he employs seem always to catch something of his resolve to eliminate decoration. It need only be added that all his working life he has been ahead of his time, so that youth is with him to this day, and the longer he lives the more his principles dominate the practice of architects. Add this, and the secret is out: he comes from Lancashire."

Mr. Herbert Nigel Gresley, presented for the degree of Doctor of Science: "I present to you a designing man—chief mechanical engineer to the London and North Eastern Railway, president of the Institute of Mechanical Engineers, the man of the articulated bogie and the funnelless railway engine. Early discipline was given to his contriving mind at Horwich in the workshops of the old Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway under Sir John Aspinall, but at the age of thirty-five he was already chief engineer to the Great Northern, long before the Eastern Lines formed the amalgamation which he now serves.

"The many technical improvements he has introduced have been no mere variations on traditional themes; they have a scientific foundation in fundamentals, springing from the close study of materials and of such central problems as air resistance,

fuel consumption, and balance of moving parts. Among his achievements are the famous Cock o' the North, the first eight-coupled express engine seen in England, and the Silver Jubilee express, which holds the English speed record for a long-distance run. Another engine of his recently broke the world's record for steam locomotives by attaining 112 miles per hour.

"But in him science is paired with imagination: he has also something of the artist. When the engine-driver has gone the way of the highwayman and the railway has become a romantic memory the museums of the world will compete for his masterpieces, and the silver ghost of his Jubilee train will vie with Dick Turpin for pride of place in the storied memories of the road to York."

Dr. Max Theodor Friedrich von Laue, presented for the degree of Doctor of Science: "That the triumphs of science are sometimes those of faith, and not always those of scepticism and incredulity, is demonstrated in the eminent theoretical physicist whom I present to you. For his great experiment was the miraculously complete confirmation of established belief, and opened with dramatic suddenness a wide door for further systematic advance. If, he argued, X-rays are, as they say, light waves of minimal size, and if a crystal is really the fine regular meshwork which they take it to be, then the X-rays should scatter as they pass through the crystal. So he arranged to take an X-ray photograph of a piece of copper sulphate. The result, though not flattering, was illuminating, given a sufficient knowledge of optics. Scattering was duly shown, and wave and mesh were brought into mathematical relation. The experiment had been open for seventeen years past, with a minimum of preparation, to any physicist; but it awaited the master hand.

"Of the numerous developments to which this opened the way there are two which here in Manchester we recall with special gratitude—the fruitful researches of Henry Moseley into the periodicity of the elements, and the joint work of a father and son on crystal structure. Thus in him we recognise, not merely a great physicist, but also a notable benefactor, whom we know further to be an unbending champion of scientific truth, with a faith as handsome as the yachts he sails, as dynamic as the

motors he drives, and as firm as the rocks of his beloved mountains."

Professor John Beresford Leathes, presented for the degree of Doctor of Science: "A physiologist of rare distinction, who has long been a formative influence not only by his own researches but also through the editorship of an important periodical and by his contributions to medical education. He laid the broadest of foundations, completing the full four years of the Oxford Classical course before he sought his vocation in the medical school, and supplementing the medical course by four further years of research at Berne and Strasburg; so that he was thirty-five when he accepted his first teaching appointment at St. Thomas's Hospital. Later as professor, first at Toronto and then at Sheffield, he showed a remarkable gift for organisation, and was active in reforming the medical curriculum on lines which have since been generally adopted.

"A long series of scientific researches show him as one of the first in this country to study systematically the chemical processes of living creatures, and thus as a pioneer in that infant prodigy of a science which now enjoys the hyphenated independence under the name of bio-chemistry. Here he led the way with his studies of metabolism, collaborating later with our own Brackenbury Professor in a survey of the results which—to avoid presumably all suspicion of egotism—they entitled tersely 'The Fats.' Outside his scientific work his fastidious taste and his gift for exact and patient observation find scope in pastel drawing and in the care of his Berkshire garden. Perhaps his greatest contribution to the schools he has guided has been the personal example of one who never forgot the humanities."

Canon Peter Green, presented for the degree of Doctor of Divinity as "a spiritual shepherd whose whole-hearted devotion to his flock does not entirely escape the suspicion of fanaticism. It is hard to believe that he was cradled in the law, and later at Cambridge sought nourishment in mathematics. It is more credible that he won distinction there in philosophy and achieved by his eloquence the presidency of the Union. For his field of

work he chose the parish, and his obstinate refusal to modify that decision has since caused concern to more than one Prime Minister. His pastoral enthusiasm, however, is rigidly urban; he vies with Elia in his contempt for the country, and parades a preference for Salford over Manchester.

"He is a power in the pulpit and widely in request as a preacher; but his heart is with his boys in Salford, and he only serves as honorary chaplain to the King in order to secure the privilege of writing to them on the royal notepaper. In private his chief affection is for cats, whom he ranks first among living beings, followed at increasing distances by boys, dogs, other humans, and parrots. A nephew of George Saintsbury, he yet drinks no wine, speculative and adventurous by disposition, he is an authoritative opponent of gambling. But in sum, however wide the circle tongue and pen may reach, his centre remains the parish, and our homage is due before all to the parish priest whose twenty-five years' contact with one congregation makes an unequalled contribution to the religious life of our time."

In acknowledging the honours conferred upon himself and his fellow graduates, Canon Peter Green said:—

"When a man is called on to make a speech there are occasions when he may quite rightly try to say something original and important; occasions when he may seek the striking phrase and the apt turn of speech. And again there are occasions when he cannot be too simple. The present occasion is, I think, one of the latter kind. So you will forgive me if I speak from my heart.

"And though I speak not only for myself but for my fellow-doctors I should like, for a few moments, to be entirely personal. I have always believed that given the bare necessities of life—food, clothes and a shelter—there are only two things indispensable to happiness. They are, someone to love and someone to love you. These good things Manchester and Salford, those twin sisters, black but comely, have given me in abundance during the all but thirty-five years which I have spent among you. Few men can have a better right than I, a poor exile from the South, to speak of Lancashire warm-heartedness, of Manchester's kindness to the stranger within her gates.

"And now that this great University has crowned it all by conferring an honorary degree, what shall I say? I must, of course, resist the temptation to describe it as an undeserved honour. To do so would be to question the wisdom of my new Alma Mater, a very unbecoming thing on the part of her youngest son. So I will only say that of all the pleasant and gracious things that life has brought me, none will ever rank higher, few if any can ever rank as high, as the honour you have done me to-day. And what I say for myself I say, with entire confidence, for those for whom I am privileged to speak.

"Manchester University is comparatively young in years, but she is great in achievement. And one at least of the causes of that greatness should not be far to seek. Holy Writ, speaking of wisdom personified, says, 'Her delights are with the sons of men.' The life and work of this great University are among the sons of men. I have heard it said that if you draw a circle of forty miles radius with the Manchester Town Hall as its centre it encloses a greater population that if you draw a similar circle with the London Mansion House as its centre.

"Of this great mass of human life and human endeavour, Manchester University is the heart and brain. Her professors, undergraduates, and research students may lack something of the quiet, the beauty, the academic retirement of Oxford and of Cambridge—though I understand that the academic retirement of Oxford has of late been somewhat sacrificed to motors and marmalade, but if she loses something, surely she gains more. In the things of the spirit no less than in the physical world action and reaction are equal. While you guide and inspire the life of this great community surely your own life is quickened, deepened and vivified by all that goes on round you.

"There is something fine in the thought of men of learning retired into academic groves far from the noise and tumult of the world of industry and commerce. To me there is something even finer in the thought of scholars and teachers inspiring and inspired by the teeming life which throbs and pulsates at your doors. Need we wonder, then, that there is no branch of human learning—classics, mathematics, philosophy, law, history, the natural sciences, architecture, music—in which Manchester

University cannot count great names, not merely of her adopted sons but of children of her own birth and training, that any University must look on with admiration and with envy.

"To have added one's name to such a roll by one's own efforts would be an honour. To have a place granted to us, not of right, but to quote the words of a bishop's mandate, 'freely and of mere goodwill,' is more than an honour. It is, and must be as long as life lasts, a joy and an inspiration. And for that joy and inspiration, I, speaking for myself, and with entire confidence for my brother doctors, say the only thing that we can say. We say 'Thank you.'"

THE WORK OF THE UNIVERSITY.

At the meeting of the Court of the University, which preceded the Founders' Day Commemoration, and was presided over by Lord Crawford, the Vice-Chancellor (Dr. J. S. B. Stopford, F.R.S.), took an interesting survey of University affairs. He commented upon the unusually long list of distinctions which had been conferred upon members of the University since the last meeting of the Court. Professor James Chadwick of Liverpool, an old student and graduate of Manchester, had been awarded the Nobel Prize; Dr. J. H. Fleure, professor of Geography in the University of Manchester, had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society; and Sir Christopher Needham, the Chairman of the Council, had been appointed a deputy lieutenant of the county. Three lecturers in the Faculty of Theology had been elected to the post of honour in the respective churches which they represent: Dr. A. J. Grieve, as chairman of the Congregational Union, Dr. McLachlan as president of the Assembly of Unitarian and Free Christian Churches, and Dr. Townsend as chairman of the Baptist Union. Several of the University's lecturers and graduates have been elected to chairs in other Universities.

Dr. Sansome has been appointed the first Lecturer in Horticulture at the University, and entered upon his duties last November. The response to the new courses on this subject has exceeded expectations, and it is clear that horticulture is a sphere in which the University is to do useful work.

The new Arts Library is nearing completion, and it is hoped

to transfer the books from the Christie Library to their new home during the long vacation.

It was also announced that upon the recommendation of the Senate and the Council it was proposed, at the next degree ceremony, to confer on Mr. Barnard Ellinger, and Mr. John Westall Marsden the honorary degree of Master of Arts, and on Mr. George Goring Campion that of Master of Science.

Mr. Marsden is chairman of the Council of Governors and a trustee, of the John Rylands Library, and during the years 1878 and 1880 he was a student of Owens College. The announcement of this well-deserved honour has given great satisfaction to Mr. Marsden's colleagues on the Council and Trust of the Rylands Library, and also to the writer of this note, who has enjoyed his friendship and confidence for many years.

Mr. Marsden was appointed a Governor of the Library in 1920, in succession to the late Sir George Macalpine, and upon the death of Professor Peake, in 1929, he was elected to the Chairmanship of the Council.

For thirty-eight years Mr. Marsden has been a Governor of the Blackburn Grammar School, and for the past sixteen years he has filled the position of Chairman of the Governors.

In recognition of his long and untiring service to the Grammar School Mr. Marsden was, in 1932, presented with his portrait in oils, which he, in turn, handed over to the Governors to be hung in the great hall. On the occasion of that presentation tributes were paid to his genuine appreciation of scholarship and his high sense of the spiritual value of education. It was suggested that a very good motto for Mr. Marsden would be " Service before self," which admirably summed up his attitude to life.

NEW UNIVERSITY APPOINTMENTS.

We welcome the announcement that the Henry Simon Chair of German Language and Literature is to be filled by the appointment of Miss Elsie Marian Butler, who has had a brilliant career at Newnham College, Cambridge, having been successively Assistant Lecturer in German, Director of Studies in Modern Languages,and Lecturer. In 1929 Miss Butler was made University Lecturer in German.

Miss Butler, who succeeds Professor Barker Fairley, and will enter upon her duties in September, is the second woman to hold a Chair in the University of Manchester. The first is Dr. Mildred K. Pope, Professor of French Language and Romance Philology, who was appointed in 1934.

Whilst congratulating Miss Butler upon her appointment, it is with deep regret that we take leave of Professor Fairley, who during his four years of residence in and around Manchester has won golden opinions, both as an inspiring teacher and as an illuminating lecturer. He has been a welcome visitor to the Rylands lecture platform, and his contributions to the BULLETIN have greatly enriched its pages. Manchester's loss is Toronto's gain, for he returns to the University of Toronto to take the direction of the German Department.

Since October, 1933, Professor Fairley has been a member of the Council of Governors of the Rylands Library, as representing the University. He is to be succeeded by Donald Atkinson, M.A., Professor of Ancient History in the University of Manchester.

REMOVAL OF PROFESSOR STOCKS TO LIVERPOOL.

As we go to press we learn, with feelings mingled of pleasure and regret, of the appointment of Professor John Leofric Stocks, D.S.O., at present occupying the Chair of Philosophy in the University of Manchester, to the Vice-Chancellorship of Liverpool University.

Liverpool is to be congratulated on the appointment, for its new Vice-Chancellor knows what a young University is, what its duties are, and what its opportunities can be. Liverpool's gain is Manchester's loss.

THE POPE HONOURS HIS LIBRARIANS.

We offer our congratulations to Monsignor Giovanni Mercati, Prefect of the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, and to Monsignor Eugène Tisserant, the Pro-Prefect, upon the honour that has been conferred upon them by His Holiness the Pope in creating them Cardinals. His Holiness, at heart, is still a librarian, and continues to take great interest in the work of the Vatican Library. It will be

remembered that he was the first librarian to be elected to the Throne of St. Peter. When he was still librarian of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, he visited Manchester and the Rylands Library, and ever since he has continued to take an interest in our doings.

PROPOSALS OF THE UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMITTEE.

The Report just issued by the University Grants Committee, which was appointed in 1919 by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to advise the Government as to the needs of University education in Great Britain, deals with many of the problems confronting the Universities, and offers some far-reaching proposals.

It is of interest to note that the total number of full-time students at the sixteen Universities, three University colleges, and two technical colleges, recognised for grant in aid during 1934-35, was 50,638, of whom roughly one-fourth were women students.

The subject of lectures is discussed at length, and especially the compulsory lecture in the University curriculum.

Lectures, it is pointed out, are an essential part of University instruction in modern conditions, but at the same time the lecture may sometimes bulk disproportionately in the whole body of instruction which the student receives. It is a question whether the ordinary student is not required to attend too many lectures, to mark and learn a great deal more than he can inwardly digest. We believe that University opinion is very widely awake to the dangers and deficiencies of the compulsory lecture system as it now exists ; and that there is substantial agreement as to the direction in which a remedy is to be sought. Lectures might be fewer and need not be compulsory if a greater use could be made of the seminar or tutorial system. The distinctive advantage of this system is that the teacher meets the individual student, or a group of students small enough to make possible a real discussion in which all present can take part, so that between the minds of student and teacher there is real give and take.

In the matter of research, the report expresses the view that it would be a great misfortune if the term " research " were to be given too narrow a significance, and if it came to be interpreted

solely in terms of output of written work on aspects of knowledge of varying importance or unimportance and not also in terms of the illumination—whether in written or unwritten work—of what is already known.

The need of the establishment of a new type of post-graduate scholarship is also emphasised, the primary purpose of which is not the advancement of knowledge, nor even the training of those who will hereafter advance knowledge, but the completion and rounding off of the education of some of the ablest of those students who might be expected to make their mark in the professions, in administration, or in business. It is a question whether even some of the ablest and potentially the most promising of these do not at present miss a great deal of what their University has to offer simply because their stay is too short.

In the matter of library service, the report notes that a substantial advance has been made during the last six years in the general library service of the University institutions dealt with, but the Committee cannot say that the position is wholly satisfactory for there are still some institutions where the accommodation is obviously and notoriously inadequate.

The Chairman of the Committee responsible for this report is Sir Walter Moberly, formerly Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester, and Vice-Chairman of the Council of Governors of the John Rylands Library.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PAPYROLOGY.

The Fifth International Congress of Papyrology is to be held at Oxford from Monday, the 30th August, to Friday, the 3rd of September, 1937.

At the first meeting of the General Committee held in the rooms of the Egypt Exploration Society, on the 24th of March, 1936, Sir Frederic G. Kenyon was elected President, with Dr. J. G. Milne as Honorary Treasurer. An Executive Committee was appointed : Dr. H. J. Bell as Chairman, Mr. C. H. Roberts, and Mr. T. C. Skeat as Joint-Secretaries, with Mr. E. C. Turner as Assistant Secretary. Other members appointed were Professor Blackman, Professor Battiscombe Gunn, Mr. Last, and Dr. J. G. Milne, with power to add to their number.

ANGLO-AMERICAN HISTORICAL CONFERENCE.

The fourth of the quinquennial series of historical conferences was held in London at the Institute of Historical Research from Monday the 6th to Saturday the 11th of July. The Rt. Hon. The Viscount Sankey addressed the opening meeting in the Debating Hall of the London University Union on "The Historian and the Lawyer," the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. H. L. Eason, C.B., C.M.G., presiding, and in the evening a Government reception was held at Lancaster House. General meetings took place on Tuesday morning and on Wednesday and Friday evenings, at the first of which the Continuation Committee presented its quinquennial report and the Continuation Committee for 1936-41 was elected; at all three problems of general historical interest were discussed. Nine sections were established (Medieval History, Diplomatic History, History of Parliamentary Institutions, Economic History, Colonial History, Historical Relations between Europe and the American Continents, Local History, Slavonic History, and Oriental History) and meetings held on Tuesday evening and on the mornings of Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, at the Institute, the University of London Union and the London School of Hygiene. Other afternoons and evenings were devoted to visits and social gatherings. On the Saturday parties visited Canterbury, Penshurst Place and Knole House, and St. Albans and Hatfield, and arrangements were also made for members to visit a number of archives, etc., in London during the Conference week.

The Chairman of the Conference was Professor A. F. Pollard, D.Lit., D.Litt., Litt.D., F.B.A., and the Secretary Guy Parsloe, B.A. A report of the Conference and its discussions will be printed in the November issue of the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research.*

HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT.

We welcome the announcement of the forthcoming publication of the first volume of the "History of Parliament." In 1929, the Prime Minister appointed a Committee, presided over by Colonel Josiah Wedgwood, to examine the material available for a record of the personnel and politics of members of the House of Commons from A.D. 1264. The Committee reported that the preparation of such a record was possible, and should be undertaken.

The Committee was dissolved in 1931, when a joint meeting of both Houses of Parliament resolved to carry the scheme through on somewhat wider lines as a "History of Parliament." For this purpose a Committee was formed, and an appeal was made for funds which met with wide support, not only in this country, but also in the United States. With this support, the scheme was embarked upon, and for over three years intensive research upon the history has been conducted by scholars of recognised authority in the various periods.

The object of the History is to describe the people in Parliament, their ideas, their standing, and their politics, and to trace the gradual growth of Parliamentary representation and government from its earliest beginnings in 1264 to the "Representation of the People Act," of 1918.

It is expected that the History will comprise some forty volumes. Six further volumes dealing in like manner with the Parliaments of Scotland and Ireland before the Unions may be issued to complete the History.

The first volume to be issued will deal with biographies of members of the Commons House of the period 1439-1509. It will also furnish a general introduction to the History.

The compilation of a work of this magnitude may well extend over thirty years. The size and price of the volumes will vary in accordance with the cost of production, but will be determined by that cost and the probable sales.

The selling price of the volumes will be fixed to cover the costs of printing and publication alone, and the favourable price at which it is hoped to produce the volumes has been made possible because the cost of research and compilation is being met out of private funds.

It is expected that the published price of each volume will not exceed two guineas. It is to be issued by the Controller of His Majesty's Stationery Office.

MUSICAL PORTIONS OF THE ROMAN MASS.

Dom René-Jean Hesbert, Moine de Solesmes, has rendered a signal service to liturgical students by the publication of *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex d'après le Graduel de Monza et les Antiphonaires de Rheinau,*

du Mont-Blandin, de Compiègne, de Corbie, et de Senlis, which is a complete synoptic edition of the most ancient witnesses to the musical portions of the Roman Mass.

The publication of such early liturgical texts is not merely a contribution to the history of the books themselves, for they constitute a source of the first importance for the most varied forms of historical research, such as the cult of saints, feasts, the calendar, Christian institutions, local liturgical practice, the diffusion of the Roman rite, topographical questions, etc.

The description of each manuscript is accompanied by a facsimile plate to illustrate its script and principal characteristics. The texts are reproduced line for line, and the abbreviations have been expanded in italics.

Prefixed to the work is a most valuable introduction, in which the editor has dealt with the study of all the elements of the Temporale and the Sanctorale, not only as they are found in the six manuscripts under description, but also in other liturgical texts, such as the Gelasian, the Gregorian, and other Sacramentaries. Even from the musical point of view, the work is of value, for although the manuscripts are without notation, certain of them indicate by an abbreviation the mode of the pieces given, so that they constitute a *Tonale* whose evidence must be compared with that of other *Tonales* in studies of ancient modality.

The importance of this work cannot be overestimated. It will be of the greatest utility to students as an indispensable instrument of research, and Dom Hesbert is deserving of the grateful thanks of all workers in this particular field of study.

The work forms a handsome quarto volume of four hundred pages with eight facsimiles, and is published by Messrs. Vermont & Co., 3 Rue de la Chapelle, Bruxelles, at the price of 180 French francs.

MANUSCRIPTS IN UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of University College, London (London, 1935), by Dorothy K. Coveney, includes a description of all the MSS. owned by the College save " a few unidentified fragments (not indicated), a small number of

Oriental MSS., and " certain collections of 18th and 19th century papers," of which the Bentham MSS. have been calendared elsewhere. Former Phillipps MSS. and the Professor J. T. Graves bequest form the nucleus of the MSS. dealt with (228 items), the Graves collection consisting for the most part of astronomical and mathematical treatises. The MSS. are carefully and fully described, and generally well referenced, particularly the German group on pp. 26-85. Seven facsimiles are included. The catalogue begins with the Latin MSS. (eighteen plus two fragments), after which the rest are arranged alphabetically in groups according to language (pp. 18-89) and in three Appendices ; this arrangement is not quite clear. In the Latin group are collections of miscellaneous treatises (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), *De Raptu Anime Tundali et Visione* (fifteenth century. *Cf.* further the Introduction to V. H. Friedel and Kuno Meyer, *La Vision de Tondale*, 1907), a fifteenth-century dictionary of medical terms, and, perhaps most interesting, a seventh-century uncial fragment containing a summary of chapters of St. Mark's Gospel (MS. Frag. Lat. 1, dealt with more fully in " Speculum," Vol. X.). The German MSS. are the most numerous, owing, it is stated in the Preface, to the influence of the late Professor Priebsch, to whose memory this book is dedicated. They include, for example, fragments of Wolfram's *Willehalm* (thirteenth century), of *Dietrichs Ausfahrt* (late fourteenth century), and of a Middle Dutch *Leven van Jesus* (fourteenth century), a late fourteenth-century *Benediktinerregel*, and several collections of miscellaneous texts, among which is an interesting collection of Mystic Treatises (fifteenth century). In the English group (pp. 18-24) is a fifteenth-century fragment of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, and copies of the translations of Boece by Bellenden (sixteenth century), and Lindsay (late sixteenth century) ; as regards the last reference could have been made to *Pitscottie's Chronicles*, ed. Æ. J. G. Mackay, 3 vols. (Scottish Text Soc. 42, 43, 60), 1899-1911.

The Rylands collection of charters, deeds, and records consists of two divisions : documents acquired by gift or purchase, and documents deposited on permanent CHARTER ROOM.

loan. Of the former a *Hand-list*, with full index, by Dr. M. Tyson, which continued the previous *Hand-list* down to 1935, was published last year. Since 1935 the Library has made considerable additions to its collection. These additions have been examined and stored, and card-catalogues may be consulted in the Library pending a further publication in the near future. The deposited documents, the extent of which is briefly indicated in the introduction to Dr. Tyson's *Hand-list*, are being arranged and described, and card-catalogues of the various groups, some complete and some in process, are similarly available ; as regards one group, the papers of the Tatton family of Wythenshawe, a typed list is available.

The early records of the Manchester Grammar School have recently been deposited in the Library for the purposes of examination and listing, as no previous list with any claim to completeness exists.

The change in ownership of many important estates throughout the country, and the recent legislation in regard to land tenure, have released large quantities of ancient documents which had hitherto been of vital importance in the title to such estates.

But for the foresight of the Master of the Rolls in encouraging the establishment throughout the country of central repositories for the safe-keeping of manorial documents, they would have been in serious danger of destruction or loss.

The Rylands Library is the repository for manorial rolls, charters, and other documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, and students are given access to these sources of local history under adequate safeguards.

With the present issue we complete the twentieth volume of the BULLETIN. This periodical was commenced in 1903, and was continued by annual issues until 1908, when publication was suspended until 1914. In October of that year, in response to many enquiries, which seemed to reveal the need of some such link between the Library and scholars in various parts of the world who were interested in its operations, publication was resumed.

DATE OF ISSUE OF THE BULLETIN.

In its revived form we sought to develop its literary character, and in this we have been successful, with the assistance of a number of scholars, who have generously furnished us with a regular succession of original articles, in many of which new and important discoveries have been described, imparting a fresh stimulus to study in the respective fields of research with which they dealt.

Hitherto the BULLETIN has been published in the months of January and July, but for various reasons it has been decided that in future publication will take place in the months of April and October.

ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The following list represents a selection of the works added to the shelves of the library since the publication of the last issue of the BULLETIN :

ART : "ARS ASIATICA, vol. 18 : La sculpture de Bodhgaya, par A. K. Coomaraswamy," 4to ; BORDIER (H.), "Description des peintures et autres ornements contenus dans les manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale," 8vo ; BRADLEY (J. W.), "A dictionary of miniaturists, illuminators, calligraphers and copyists, with reference to their works, and notices of their patrons, from the establishment of Christianity to the 18th century" (1887-89), 3 vols., 8vo ; BURKHARD (A.), "Matthias Grünewald : personality and accomplishment," 8vo ; CLAPHAM (A. W.), "Romanesque architecture in Western Europe," 8vo ; DIPLOMATA KAROLINORUM, "Recueil de reproductions en facsimilé des actes originaux des souverains carolingiens conservés dans les bibliothèques de France publié sous la direction de F. Lot et P. Lauer, 1 : Pépin le Bref, Carloman, Charlemagne," Folio ; HOBSON (G. D.), "Les reliures à la fanfare" (37 plates), Folio ; MILLET (G.), and RICE (D. T.), "Byzantine painting at Trebizond," 8vo ; PHILLIPPS (Sir Thomas), "Catalogue of drawings in the collection formed by Sir Thomas Phillipps, . . . now in the possession of his grandson, T. F. Phillipps Fenwick . . . by A. E. Popham," 4to ; THOMSON (W. G.), "A history of tapestry from the earliest times to the present day" (1930), 4to ; VENTURI (A.), "Storia dell' arte Italiana, vol. 10 (2) : La scultura del cinquecento," 8vo.

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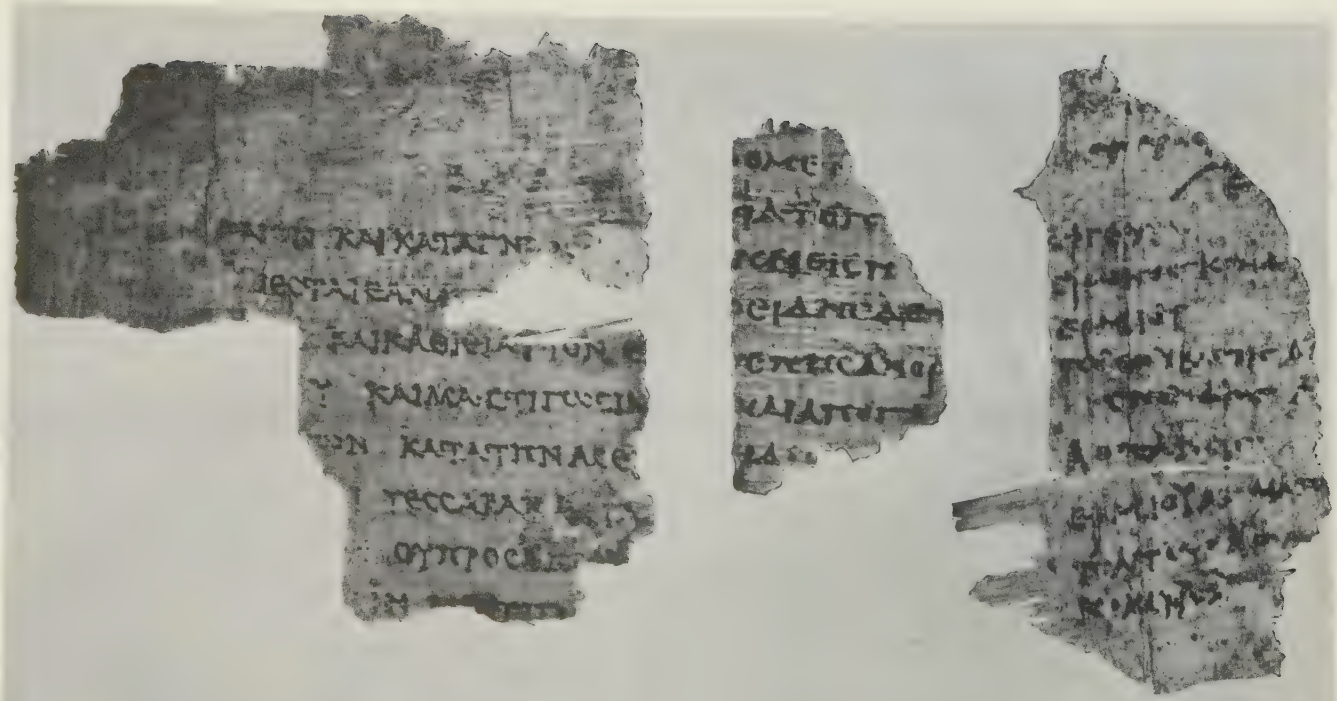
Miss Leeson [1].
The Abbé V. Leroquais [1].
The Reverend S. Levy [1].
The Librarian [3].
Dr. W. Inglis Morse [1].
T. D. Mosconas, Esq. [1].
F. J. Nettlefold, Esq. [1].
Dr. C. Nordenfolk [1].
Mrs. McGrigor Phillips [1].
A. L. Reade, Esq. [1].
Professor H. A. Sanders [1].
The Reverend Dr. C. De Lisle Shortt [1].

The Reverend Dr. I. W. Slotkti [1].
A. C. Sutcliffe, Esq. [1].
G. Tuck, Esq. [1].
Monsieur Hughes Vaganay [1].
The Reverend E. W. A. Walker [1].
H. R. Willoughby Esq. [1].

Aberdeen : The University [1].
Aberystwyth : University College of Wales [1].
Barcelona : Biblioteca da Catalunya [1].
Berlin : Preussische Staatsbibliothek [1].
Bogota : Bibliotheca Nacional [5].
British Academy [1].
Buenos Aires : Biblioteca Publica Muncipal [3].
Canada : The Canadian Bank of Commerce [1].
Cardiff : The National Museum of Wales [1].
Carnegie United Kingdom Trust [1].
Chicago : University Oriental Institute [1].
China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture [1].
Dublin : Archbishop Marsh's Library [1].
Duke University Library [1].
Erfurter Genealogischer Abend [1].
Forez : Association des Chartes du Forez [1].
France : The French Embassy in London [1].
Friends of Canterbury Cathedral [1].
Habana : Municipio de la Habana [2].
Henry E. Huntington Library [1].
India : The High Commissioner [11].
Institute of Historical Research [1].
Kansas : The University [1].
Leipzig : The University [20].
London : The India Office [1].
London : The Pilgrim Trust [1].
London : The Royal College of Physicians [1].
London : University College Library [1].
Louisiana : The State University [3].
Lund : The University [3].
Manchester : Association for Masonic Research [1].
Michigan : The University [4].

Minnesota : The University [3].
Montreal : McGill University [1]
Munich : Bayerische Staatsbibliothek [1].
New and Latter House of Israel [1].
New Zealand : The High Commissioner [1].
New York : The Metropolitan Museum [1].
New York : The New York Public Library [3].
New York : The New York University [2].
Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton [1].
Pennsylvania : The University [3].
Stanford University, California [1].
Stockholm : The Trustees of the Hallwyl Museum [10].
Stockholm : The Royal Library [1].
Swansea : University College [1].
Szeged : The Royal Hungarian Francis Joseph University [2]
Tokyo : The Society for International Cultural Relations [1].
Utrecht : The University [4].
Vassar College [2].
Victoria : The Public Library, Museums, etc. [2].
Washington : The Library of Congress [1].
Washington : The Smithsonian Institution [14].
Winchester : Winchester College [1].
York : The Yorkshire Museum [1].
Zion Research Foundation, Brookline [1].



(*a*) (*b*) (*c*)

P. Ryl. Gk. 458.

TWO BIBLICAL PAPYRI IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY MANCHESTER.

I.

A Ptolemaic Papyrus of Deuteronomy.[1]

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I.

THE history of the Greek version of the Old Testament has gained much from the discoveries of the past fifty years, although these have been cast into the shade by the more sensational additions to our knowledge of the New Testament and the problems, at once more intricate and more important, that they have aroused.[2] Conspicuous among these discoveries was that in 1930[3] of the Chester Beatty papyri, which have enriched the study of the Old no less than that of the New Testament. It is not the least interesting feature in this collection that a codex containing Numbers and Deuteronomy could be assigned to the second century A.D. and probably to the first half of it; so that the darkness that hides the early history

[1] I wish to thank the following gentlemen for their assistance in the preparation of this article: Sir Herbert Thompson, who very kindly came to Oxford and read the Demotic fragments, and later sent me a report (printed below, p. 223) upon them; Mr. G. R. Driver, whom I consulted on the relation of the papyrus to the Hebrew, and to whom I am indebted for some helpful suggestions about the text; Dr. H. I. Bell, with whom I have had the advantage of discussing several of the problems raised by the text.

[2] For a survey of recent work in both fields, see Sir Frederic Kenyon's Schweich Lectures for 1932, *Recent Developments in the Textual Criticism of the Greek Bible.*

[3] *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, edited by Sir Frederic Kenyon, fasc 1-5, London, 1932-1935. For the date of the codex containing Numbers and Deuteronomy, see Wilcken in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, XI, p. 112.

of the Septuagint [1] has been pushed back some two hundred years. The fragments of papyrus published here, although far from extensive, and adding relatively little to the solution of particular difficulties of the text, can claim a unique place in the long list of Biblical discoveries; we can say with practical certainty that the MS. of which they formed a part was written in the second century B.C. and probably near the middle of the century. These fragments, then, are earlier by some three hundred years than any other MS. of any part of the Bible,[2] and are, moreover, of more than sentimental interest since they enable us to reach a definite conclusion about the type of text circulating in Egypt about a hundred years after the first translation had been made in Alexandria. This must be the excuse not only for the separate publication of this papyrus, but also for the somwhat lengthy introduction that precedes it.

II.

Enclosed in the bundle of miscellaneous papyri purchased for the Library in 1917 by Dr. Rendel Harris was an envelope containing two pieces of cartonnage (the papyrus wrapping used for the mummies either of human beings or occasionally, as at Tebtunis, of the sacred crocodiles),[3] the larger of which measured some 10 × 6 cm.; it was accompanied by no indication either of the place of origin or of the dealer from whom the papyrus was purchased. In this context it may be worth while to recall Grenfell's description [4] of the method by which papyri of every kind were converted into funerary 'rag' and to which our knowledge of the life and literature of Ptolemaic Egypt is so largely indebted. "When rolls of papyri were used for mummy

[1] It should be mentioned that one fragment of a second century MS. of the LXX was published some years earlier, P. Baden 56, containing part of Exodus viii.

[2] Not only of the Greek Bible, since the earliest Hebrew MS. (excluding the Nash Papyrus of the second century A.D., which is probably liturgical: *see* below, p. 27), is not earlier than the ninth century A.D.

[3] *v.* P. Teb. 1, introd. vi-vii. Most of the papyri recovered from the mummies of the sacred crocodiles at Tebtunis were used not as wrapping, but as stuffing for the inside or the throat.

[4] In a paper read to the Classical Association of Ireland in March, 1918.

cartonnage," he wrote, " they were cut into sheets or strips of varying sizes, and three or four thicknesses were glued together, so as to form a kind of *papier-mâché*. Then the outside was covered with a coating of plaster and decorated with paint; and various pieces of the cartonnage were placed on or round the head, breast, and legs of the mummy outside the cloth wrappings. Papyrus was only used in this way as a background for plaster in the decoration of mummies during the three centuries preceding Christ; at other periods cloth or plaster alone was employed." The task of separating the various strata—no less than six—of which the lump of cartonnage was composed was complicated in this case by the fact that, instead of consisting of layers of regularly cut papyrus, the cartonnage proved to be an amalgam of small scraps, with one or two larger pieces, torn rather than cut, and placed haphazardly one on top of the other—evidence that the work was hurriedly done and that the mummy was probably that of one of the poorer members of society. Worse still, the fragments had been twisted and folded, with the strange result that the fragment of the Deuteronomy text which appears in the photograph was found with a strip of a roll containing *Iliad*, Book I, wrapped round it—a discovery which to another age might well have seemed symbolic of the history of Judaism in Egypt and of material support to those who have thought the civilisations of Judæa and Hellas not irreconcilable. The remains of plaster on top of the cartonnage were quickly removed by acetic acid, but the usual methods of separating the pieces of papyri by moistening them with warm water or by applying a hot iron through a dampened cloth were unavailing and eventually, such was the resistance of the gum with which they had been liberally coated, the only solvent was found to be to immerse them in water at boiling-point for some sixty seconds. This drastic procedure was successful and luckily resulted in no material damage either to papyrus or ink. (It should be said that the two pieces of cartonnage did not, as far as I could tell, touch at any point, but fragments both of the Deuteronomy and of the other texts were recovered from both, so that it has not seemed worth while to preserve the distinction between them.)

III.

The small collection of fragments yielded by the cartonnage was sufficiently heterogeneous. Apart from a number of scraps of Greek and Demotic documents too minute to be of any interest (and it may be noted that of the Demotic papyri only two, and of the Greek only one was larger than the fragment of Deuteronomy which appears in the photograph, while the document (*c*) was found in three separate pieces), the list of the texts recovered is as follows :—

(1) Fragments of at least four separate columns of a roll containing the Book of Deuteronomy.

(2) Six fragments, the largest of which measures 12 × 3 cm., of a roll containing *Iliad*, Book I ; the surviving fragments cover ll. 92 *sqq*., 244-250, 252 *sqq*. One of these, containing part of ll. 244-250, is reproduced as (*b*) in the plate.[1]

(3) Two pieces, perhaps of a tragedy, both small ; if the citations of ἄφθιτος in the tragic lexica are complete, the play is not extant.

(4) One fragment, probably of a historical work.

(5) A larger piece, but badly mutilated ; apparently lyric verse.

(6) Part of an account, reproduced as (*c*) in the plate. Two or three other pieces of the same or a similar document were also found, but as they add nothing, except, at the best, parts of names, they need no further consideration.

(7) A number of Demotic fragments of which six offer a legible text : for these, see Sir Herbert Thompsons' report below (p. 223).

Finally, before being thrown away as waste paper and converted into mummy cartonnage, the verso of the Deuteronomy roll was used for the writing of some account or memorandum ; the hand is large and sprawling and very little that is legible survives (a transcript of the text on the verso of fragment (*d*) of the Deuteronomy appears below). But this fact is of some importance when we come to consider the date of the Deuteronomy text ; for the presumption is that the Greek and Demotic

[1] These and the other literary fragments will appear in the forthcoming third volume of the Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the Rylands Library.

documents, and perhaps also the other literary fragments, are contemporary not with the Deuteronomy text, but with the account written on the verso. This gains in importance when we reflect that a manuscript of the Books of the Law was not likely to have been so degraded very soon after it was written.

IV.

With this abundant and varied material it is disappointing that no precise indication either of date or provenance is forthcoming. It will be convenient to state first the meagre evidence obtainable from the Demotic fragments: I give Sir Herbert Thompson's report *verbatim*: "Among the Demotic fragments, all very small, there are only six which offer a legible text. These are all in different hands, and all seem to have originally formed parts of lists of names, mostly followed by numbers. None is part of a literary text, and none contains a date or a place-name. . . . With respect to their date on palæographical grounds, they are undoubtedly 'Late Ptolemaic,' by which is meant between the accession of Philometor in 181 B.C. and the death of Soter II in 80 B.C., later than which hardly any dated Demotic documents are known till Roman times. A possible earlier date cannot however be excluded. The only indication of provenance is that among the names which occur, *viz.* Phib, Peteharwer (or -harmin), Psenese (twice), P-ḥne (?), there is found twice a name beginning with St. . . . (the rest being lost). This can at this period only be Setwoti = Στοτοῆτις, a name very common in the Fayûm and very scarce elsewhere, and so far it is an indication, though not a decisive one, that these Demotic fragments come from the Fayûm."

When we come to the Greek papyri, naturally we can expect little help from the literary texts. None of them have any writing on the verso; all of them, though by different scribes, show writing of the same general type (an example of it—*Iliad*, I, 244-250—may be seen in the photograph (no. *b*)). The style of these fragments is very different from that of the Deuteronomy text and, to my mind, distinctly later; I should prefer to regard it as contemporary with the verso rather than with the recto of the latter. It may be compared with that of the *Laterculi*

Alexandrini published by Diels [1] and attributed variously to the later second or the early first century B.C., or with that of P. Teb. 3, a collection of epigrams assigned to the early first century B.C. Of the documentary fragments the only one of any importance is that which appears as (*c*) in the photograph. This belongs to a well-known type of hand which can be assigned with some confidence to the end of the second century B.C. ; the nearest parallel I have been able to find is a record of a lawsuit (the process of Hermias) preserved in the Louvre (Papyrus Grec. 15 : plate in the Palæographical Society, Series II, 181). This document is dated 120-119 B.C. and might almost have been written by the very scribe who wrote this fragmentary account (cf. *Ἑρμίου* in l. 5 of the Louvre text with the same name in our document). The text of the account or list of names is as follows (omitting ll. 1-3, which are in another hand and of which very little survives) :

Εργευς[
Σιωνις Κονδ[
Ερμιου[
Πετουβαστις Α̣ . [
σπονδης α̣[
Αρπαησις . [
Ερμιου Ασμ̣α̣π . [
Πλατευς [
νομης μ̣[

5. *Σιωνις*. This name does not appear to have occurred before : *Κονδ*[*ωνος*] may be supplied (*v.* Preisigke, *Namenbuch*) or possibly *Κονδυλου*.

8. *σπονδης*. Possibly a tax ; a tax of this name on garden land is known to have existed in the Roman period and there is a strong presumption that it was Ptolemaic in origin (cf. P. Ryl. Gk. II, 216, 128 note). Or it may have its more common meaning of libation.

10. *Ασμαπ . [* : no such name is recorded in the *Namenbuch*. The reading is uncertain, but *Ασκληπ*[*ιαδου*] cannot be read.

[1] *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1904.

11. Or perhaps *Πλαγευς*. Both names are otherwise unknown.

The writing on the verso of fragment (*d*) of the Deuteronomy text, perhaps an account of expenditures, reads :

Ιππαλωι[
και οι( )δ . δ . . [
εις το β (ἔτος) πε . [
Ιππευθ[
το επι της [. . .]σ[

The " second year " referred to here in l. 3 might be that of Ptolemy Soter II. (116-115 B.C.) : the name *Ιππευθ[ης ?]* is not otherwise known.

On other small scraps several of the names which figure in the account reappear and with them a few new ones, *e.g.* *Τεως*, *[Π]ετουβαστις*, *[ ]ουθευς*, *[Ηρα]κλειδης* ; it is perhaps worth noting that none of these names is Jewish. To sum up the evidence which we so far considered, we may say (i) that there are grounds for thinking that the provenance of these texts is the Fayûm, (ii) that it is probable that they, *i.e.* the documentary and Demotic fragments and probably the other literary texts as well, were written near the end of the second century B.C.

V.

It is time to consider what conclusions, if any, about the date of the Deuteronomy manuscript can be drawn from the text itself. The hand is a book hand, stylised and careful and of considerable elegance, if rather formal ; its most striking feature is the use of decorative serifs, particularly noticeable on *ν*, *υ* and *τ*. At first sight it has a somewhat archaic appearance, but this may well be deceptive and the formal character of the hand as a whole must be taken into consideration. The family to which this hand belongs is by no means unknown ; its place in the development of the Greek book hand is somewhere between that of the Petrie *Phœdo* (Schubart, *Griechische Paläographie*, Abb. 67) of the third century B.C. and that of the Berlin Hypereides (*ibid.* Abb. 72), attributed by Schubart to the first century B.C. ; probably it is nearer to the latter than to the former, though it may be noted that in the Hypereides papyrus, while *ε* is similar to

that found in P. Ryl. Gk. 458, the α, μ and υ are of a distinctly later type. Some more examples of this style have recently been published in the third volume (part 1) of the Tebtunis papyri; the scripts that seem to me to resemble P. Ryl. Gk. 458 most closely are that of P. Teb. 697, a manuscript of Odyssey IV and V of the second century B.C. written in a formal and upright hand, and that of P. Teb. 692, some fragments of Sophocles' *Inachus*, which came from the same mummy as did a document (P. Teb. 783) of the middle of the century. In conclusion, then, we may say that P. Ryl. Gk. 458 may be securely assigned to the second century B.C. and was probably written not much later, if at all, than the middle of that century. Such a conclusion would not clash with the other evidence; for it is the verso and not the recto that is contemporary with the documents and it is *a priori* improbable that such a manuscript would be lightly or quickly thrown away.

As might be expected from the beauty of its handwriting, in other respects also P. Ryl. Gk. 458, at least in its original condition, was an unusually handsome manuscript. The papyrus itself is light in colour, of a fine texture and with an even surface; the spacing is generous and the upper margin (as is clear from fragment (*c*)) measured at least 3·5 cm. If, as is likely, fragment (*d*) belongs to the same column as fragment (*c*), we should have to allow for a column of rather more than 30 lines and *c.* 28 cm. in height; the length of a line of text, with an average of 27 letters to the line would be *c.* 10 cm.[1] But what is palæographically of most interest about the text is the scribe's system of punctuation, or rather of interspacing. As can be seen from the photograph of fragment (*b*) the writer regularly leaves a space not only at the end of a verse or sentence, but at the end of a κῶλον or group of words. At the end of a verse, as in l. 14, a wider space is left and a high point added; otherwise the writer's principle seems to be to leave a fairly large space at the end of a sentence or clause (cf. ll. 20 and 21 in the photograph) and a smaller one at the end of a group of words. The interspacing does not seem to follow the sense of the passage; for example, there is a gap in l. 35: [και

[1] For rolls of this format, which were commonly, but not always *de luxe* editions, see Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*,[2] pp. 57, 59.

αι θυγατε]ρες | δεδ[ομεναι κτλ, and none where we should expect it after γυναῖκα in l. 8. But there is no attempt at word division. As a rule Greek manuscripts make very few concessions to the reader, and though spaces might be left at the end of a paragraph in lieu of a stop, no Greek literary papyrus that I know of (apart from the exception mentioned below) has a system resembling this.[1] Later on, word division is found in Latin texts, and an irregular spacing between clauses or groups of words may sometimes be noticed in Greek documents; our text, however, shows no sign of documentary influence and we cannot ascribe to this cause the systematic use of it found here. But it may be noticed that the scribe of the recently acquired Apocryphal Gospel in the British Museum (P. Egerton 2) employed roughly the same system, although the pauses appear to be less frequent and to correspond more to definite breaks in the sense; perhaps, too, it is to be recognised in P. Ryl. Gk. 457 (the second-century fragment of St. John's Gospel).[2] Possibly it may be due to Aramaic influence, as word division is found in the Aramaic papyri of the fifth century B.C.; Mr. G. R. Driver, whom I consulted on this point, wrote as follows: "The Aramaic papyri leave gaps between the words and early Hebrew inscriptions often have dots between words; but, as the LXX often *misdivide* words (*e.g.* take the plural ending *-m* as the preposition *m-* attached proclitically to the following noun), it is fairly certain that their Hebrew text had no or few divisions between the words." The Nash papyrus, however—a Hebrew text, probably liturgical, which contains the Decalogue and the Shema and was written not later than the second century A.D.[3]—has spacing between

[1] For the complete absence of word division in Greek literary texts, see Schubert, *op. cit.*, pp. 80 and 180; the only exception known to me is an unpublished fragment of hexameter verse in the Rylands collection, but the handwriting suggests that it may have been a school text (cf. the example given by Schubart, p. 180, of a school text in which the words are divided by vertical strokes). For interspacing between sentences, see *ibid.*, p. 85.

[2] Prof. E. Fraenkel first pointed this out to me, but it is far less clearly marked in this text and probably the scribe only employed it at the end of clauses.

[3] First published by S. A. Cook in *The Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archæology*, 1903, pp. 34-56. See further R. H. Charles, *The Decalogue*, pp. xiii *sq.*, and S. A. Cook, *The Old Testament* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 38, and for spacing in Hebrew MSS., *ibid.*, p. 23.

words but no verse division. At any rate, this system did not last long, for, apart from the two texts already mentioned, it is not to be found in Biblical manuscripts ; its origin may perhaps be due to Aramaic influence or if, as is possible, this roll was the property of some Jewish synagogue, to the exigencies of public reading.

There are no abbreviations in the papyrus. It is unfortunate that the word κύριος, which alone of the *nomina sacra* occurs frequently in the passages of text represented here, is nowhere extant ; but there is good reason for thinking (*v.* note to l. 27) that it was not abbreviated, as was probably the case with Ἰησοῦς in P. Ryl. Gk. 457.

VI.

There is nothing either in the text itself or in the other papyri found with it to suggest in what circle of society this copy of Deuteronomy was written or used ; unless the presence of such a heterogeneous collection of texts points to the conclusion that the *milieu* in which it originated was not exclusively Jewish. That it was, however, in Jewish possession, may be taken for granted, especially as there is such abundant evidence of the activities of the Jews in Egypt at this period.[1] After the Greeks, they formed the most important element in the foreign population of Egypt at this period. Not only was there a considerable Jewish community in Alexandria ; in the countryside as well Jews are found as soldiers and farmers. Their settlement in the Fayûm, the province from which this papyrus may come, is vouched for by the papyri ;[2] and in view of the possibility that this copy of Deuteronomy may have been meant for use in a synagogue, it may be noticed that we know of the existence of two synagogues in this province, one in Crocodilopolis, the capital, another in Alexandrou Nesos, a small village on the western edge of the province.[3] As yet there is no evidence of

[1] See the references in Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, E. Bevan, *The Ptolemaic Dynasty* (especially pp. 111-114) : also A. N. Modona in *Aegyptus*, II, pp. 253-275, III, 19-43.

[2] For some additional evidence on this point, see P. Teb. III, 817, introd.

[3] Bevan's note (*op. cit.*, p. 112) is misleading. Thus the synagogue referred to in P. Lille, ii, 35 (lately re-edited by O. Guéraud as No. 30 in his *Enteuxeis*) was not, as Bevan says, at Magdola, but at Alexandrou Nesos ; similarly that

the existence of a synagogue at Tebtunis, which has provided us with so much cartonnage, although Jews are not infrequently mentioned in the papyri from that site.

Of this Jewish settlement in Egypt the most important consequence—at any rate in the realm of religion and literature—was the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures in Alexandria. To the controversy surrounding the origin of the Septuagint [1] this papyrus has little contribution to make, for it is almost universally accepted that there are no good grounds for doubting that the Pentateuch at least was translated during the third century and probably in the reign of Philadelphus.[2] Possibly the fact that we find a copy of it in some Egyptian village some hundred years or so after the translation was made may support the view of those who hold that the translation was due not so much to the scholarly interests of Philadelphus (as the ordinary form of the story would have us believe) as to the needs of the Jewish community. But it does make still less tenable the somwehat improbable views of Gaster,[3] who has argued that the translation was not made in Egypt at all (on the grounds that the Jews would not have forgotten their mother tongue and that the LXX would not have supplanted the Hebrew), and of Graetz,[4] who was of the opinion that the translation was not made until the reign of Philometor (182-146 B.C.).

VII.

It is surprising if we consider how little of the manuscript has survived, what definite results as to the character and affinities of the text are yielded by these fragments. Briefly stated, the

referred to in P. Teb. 86 was not in Kerkeosiris, but in Crocodilopolis. And Xenephyris, so far from being in the Fayûm, was a village in the Delta not far from the modern Damanhour, cf. S. Reinach in *Revue des Études Juives*, 66 (1913), p. 135.

[1] For a discussion of these problems, see Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, pp. 1-28, and H. G. Meecham, *The Oldest Version of the Bible* (London, 1932).

[2] It may be noted that our oldest authorities, Aristeas, Philo, Josephus, and, later, St. Jerome, do not assert that more than the Pentateuch was translated at this time. For a statement of the evidence and discussion, see Meecham, *op. cit.*, chapter iii.

[3] Advanced in his Schweich Lectures for 1923, *The Samaritans:* cf. Meecham, pp. 145 *sq.*

[4] See Meecham, pp. 164 *sq.*

result is that this papyrus makes still more difficult a view which other discoveries have done much to shake and which, formerly associated with the name of Hort, was the basis of the Cambridge Septuagint, namely that the Codex Vaticanus (B) " on the whole presents the version of the Septuagint in its relatively oldest form." [1] But before discussing this further, it would be as well to tabulate the evidence which leads to this conclusion. The text has been collated with the invaluable edition of Brooke and McLean : [2] the principal MSS. for this part of Deuteronomy are, besides B, the Codex Alexandrinus (A), with which are generally associated in these passages the Ambrosianus (F), the Coislianus (M) and the Basiliano-Vaticanus (N), and the Washington MS. (Θ). The result of the collation, details of which will be found in the notes, is as follows :—

Readings not recorded in any other MS.	4 (5) [3]
Agreements with A and Θ against B	7 (8)
Agreements with A against B and Θ	2
Agreements with Θ against B and A	2
Agreements with A and B against Θ	1
Agreements with Θ and B against A	2

Thus on 11 (12) occasions P. Ryl. Gk. 458 is in agreement with Θ, on 10 (11) with A, and on only three with B, while its disagreement with B are five times as numerous as its agreements.[4] The new readings are discussed in the notes ; here it may be noticed that one at least, επελθης in l. 4, has a claim to consideration on linguistic grounds. In l. 28 another, the omission of σε,

[1] Swete, *op. cit.*, p. 486, and *The Old Testament in Greek*, vol. i, p. xi. But it must be noted that Swete points out (p. 487) that it would be an error to suppose that this holds good for every context and even every book, and quotes Burkitt (p. 488) to the effect that B cannot claim to transmit to us an unrevised text of the κοινὴ ἔκδοσις. Again, on p. 489, he remarks : " The citations of the LXX in the N.T. and by Christian writers of the first three centuries often support the readings of A with a remarkable unanimity."

[2] *The Old Testament in Greek*, vol. i, part iii, Numbers and Deuteronomy (Cambridge, 1911). For the collation of the British Museum Sahidic MS., see part iv, pp. xi *sq.*

[3] The figure in brackets gives the total of readings of this class inclusive of probable but not certain supplements to the text.

[4] It should be pointed out that especially in fragment (*b*) one disagreement with B really involves a second—there are three very close together—and to this extent the figures may be misleading.

supports the Hebrew and the Armenian version against most of the tradition. But they are not of sufficient importance to give an independent character to the text ; P. Ryl. Gk. 458 aligns itself fairly clearly with A and Θ, a fact of some interest when we remember that it is some six hundred years older than the elder of these two MSS. It is particularly unfortunate that this section of Deuteronomy is missing in the Chester Beatty codex of Numbers and Deuteronomy which occupies a place in time halfway between our MS. and the great uncials. Yet the evidence of this codex (963), as analysed by Kenyon,[1] on the text of the first half of Deuteronomy, is extremely interesting and perhaps relevant to our conclusions. Kenyon's findings are as follows : (1) compared with the same MS. of Numbers, the number of singular or sub-singular readings is ten times as great ; (2) in this book the MS. has least affinity with B : in Numbers it has most ; (3) its closest ally is the Codex Sarravianus (G)—not extant for our part of Deuteronomy—and (4) its disagreements with B outweigh its agreements. The result taken together with the analysis of our fragment, is striking and suggests that the Chester Beatty text of Deuteronomy *may* have been very close to that of P. Ryl. Gk. 458. Elsewhere the same authority has pointed out,[2] in writing of the British Museum Sahidic MS. (Orient. 7594), that " with 963 and Θ, it agrees decidedly with AF rather than with B, a consensus of early evidence that goes far to support the A text rather than the B in this book." (It should, perhaps, have been pointed out above that P. Ryl. Gk. 458 shares none of the peculiar readings of the Sahidic MS.) This view can now claim the support of a MS. some three hundred years earlier even than 963, and although, as Kenyon remarks, what is true of the text of one book in a MS. is by no means necessarily true of another book (Chester Beatty Papyrus vi. is itself a striking example of this), yet the evidence suggests that here at least the text of B represents a revised version of the κοινὴ ἔκδοσις which may be relatively well preserved in A. Thus our first glimpse of the text of the Septuagint, some hundred years after the original translation was made, reveals that a text approximating to that

[1] *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, fasc. v, pp. xi *sq.*

[2] *Recent Developments*, p. 109.

of one of the great families was already in existence; then for three hundred years the history of the LXX text disappears and when it again emerges into the light with the Chester Beatty papyri, it is significant that it is the A text rather than the B that is predominant in the Book of Deuteronomy.[1]

(*a*) xxiii, 24 (26)–xxiv, 3. 10·7 × 4·5 cm.

. . . . . .

σου [και συλλεξεις εν ταις χερσιν στα-]
χυς και δρεπα[νον ου μη επιβαλης επι]
τον αμη[τον του πλησιον σου εαν]
δε επελθης ε[ις τον αμπελωνα του]
[πλ]ησιον σου φα[γη σταφυλην οσον]
[ψυ]χη σου π[λ]ησ[θειη εις δε αγγος]
[ο]υκ ενβα[λεις εαν δε τις λαβη γυ-]
[ναι]κα και συνο[ικηση αυτη και εσται]
[εα]ν μη ευρη χ[αριν εναντιον αυτου]
[οτι] ευρεν εν α[υτη ασχημον πραγμα]
[και] γραψει αυ[τη βιβλιον αποστα-]
[σι]ου [και δωσει εις τας χειρας αυτης]
[κ]αι εξαποσ[τελει αυτην εκ της οικιας]
αυτου· και [απελθουσα γενηται αν-]
[δρι ετε]ρωι [και μισηση αυτην ο α-]
[νηρ ο εσχ]ατο[ς κτλ.]

. . . . . .

(*b*) xxv, 1–3. 8 × 8·4 cm.

[δι-]
καιον και καταγνωσι[ν του ασεβους]
[κ]αι εσται εαν αξι[ος η πληγων ο ασε-]
[βη]ς και καθιει αυτον εν[αντιον]
[αυτ]ου και μαστιγωσιν αυτον εναντι-
[ον αυ]των κατα την ασεβ[ειαν αυτου]
[αριθμω]ι τεσσαρακοντα [μαστιγωσου-]
[σιν αυτο]ν ου προσθησου[σιν εαν δε]
[προσθω]σιν μαστιγω[σαι αυτον κτλ.]

. . . . . .

[1] *id.*, p. 101.

(*c*) xxvi, 12. 4·9 × 2·3 cm.

[τη χηρα και] φαγον[ται εν ταις πο-]
[λεσιν σου] και ε[μπλησθησονται κτλ.]

(*d*) xxvi, 17–19. 4 × 5·4 cm.

. . . . . .

[της φων]ης αυτο[υ] κα[ι κυριος ειλατο]
[σε σημερ]ον γενεσθαι αυτ[ω λαον περι-]
[ουσιον κ]αθαπερ ειπεν φυλα[σσειν πα-]
[σας τας εν]τολας αυτου κα[ι ειναι σε]
[υπεραν]ω παντων [τ]ων εθνω[ν ως]
[εποιησε]ν σε ονομαστον κ[αι καυχημα]

. . . . . .

(*e*) xxviii, 31–33. 5·7 × 1·8 cm.

[τα προβατα σου δ]εδομε[να τοις εχθροις]
[σου και ουκ εστ]αι σοι ο β[οηθων οι υιοι]
[και αι θυγατε]ρες δεδ[ομεναι εθνει]
[ετερωι και οι οφ]θαλμοι [σου οψονται]
[σφακελιζοντες εις] αυτα κα[ι ουκ ισχυ-]
[σει η χειρ (σου) τα εκφορ]ια τη[ς γης σου και]
[παντας τους ποντους σο]υ φ[αγεται εθνος]
[ο ουκ επιστασαι κ]αι εσ[η αδικουμενος κτλ.]

Unplaced Fragments.

(*f*)] . λλ . [
] . ι χωνε[

(*g*)] . [.] . [
] . ευρ[

(*h*)]ον[
]ο . ου . [
] . . [

1. This line as it stands is rather longer than the rest: that the και was omitted (with some of the versions) is unlikely, as it is retained in the parallel passage l. 19. One of the cursives, *i**, reads τῇ χειρί and this may have been the reading of our text. It is to be noted that in placing στάχυς after ἐν ταῖς χερσίν, P. Ryl. Gk. 458 agrees with all the uncials against the Ethiopic and Bohairic versions and Eusebius. But the length of the line makes it very probable that it agrees with *k* and *l* in omitting σου after χερσίν.

2. This line appears to project into the margin more than the others, whereas 3 is inset.
3. In reading επι τον αμητον P. Ryl. Gk. 458 agrees with $A^aFMN\Theta$ and the cursives against the ἐπ' αμητόν of B.
4. The reading επελθης, peculiar to P. Ryl. Gk. 458, is of some interest, since ἐπέρχομαι is the *terminus technicus* in the papyri for *trespassing, making an illegal entrance*, and as such occurs frequently in documents of the Ptolemaic period: whereas εἰσέρχομαι (εἰσέλθῃς is the reading of all MSS. here) in legal language denotes *to proceed against* or *make claims against in a court of law*. Thus the reading of our text is interesting evidence of the influence of the ordinary terminology of the period.
6. In reading ψυχη our text is supported only by A^a and some cursives, *f*, *l*, *n*, *y*. Subsequently all MSS. (with the exception of *f*, which reads ἐμπλησθῇ) give ἐμπλησθῆναι: πλησθῆναι may have been the reading of P. Ryl. Gk. 458, but, with the preceding nominative, πλησθείη, is more likely. On this passage Driver writes that the Hebrew is nearer to the text of B than to that of P. Ryl. Gk. 458: but that the Hebrew infinitive ("thou shalt eat grapes according to thy soul thy being filled") is so awkward that it is generally thought to be a gloss. He suggests that our text may be an attempt to simplify it by substituting a finite verb, much as the Syriac ("until thy soul (is) being satisfied") tries to do.
7. In reading ενβα[λεις, P. Ryl. Gk. 458 agrees with B (ἐμβαλεῖς) and other MSS. against A^a F* and a few cursives.
10. ευρεν: so B and other MSS. (including Θ) against the εὕρηκεν of A^aFMN and a number of cursives.
11. Θ and M, together with some cursives, read γράψῃ here.
14. It seems probable that the scribe only punctuated at the end of a verse, as here after αυτου: the space between it and the following και is larger than is usual.
19. Here P. Ryl. Gk. 458 has a somewhat remarkable agreement with Θ in its reading ἀσεβής, supported also by a number of cursives, including 54, 75 and 134: all other uncials read ἀσεβῶν.
20. Between the α and σ of μαστιγωσιν a dot is visible: apparently the scribe wrote ματ, then corrected the τ to a σ, erasing the left horizontal stroke of the τ, and the dot (which can be seen in the photograph) is the hook of the original τ.
20. *sqq.* The text of this and of the following lines now in agreement with $AFMN\Theta$, and now providing new readings of its own, differs so markedly from that of B that before discussing the readings in detail it may be as well to give the text, considerably shorter than ours, supplied by B. Continuing from ὁ ἀσεβῶν, B reads: καθιεῖς αὐτὸν ἐναντίον αὐ τῶν. [3]καὶ ἀριθμῷ τεσσεράκοντα μαστιγώσουσιν αὐτόν, οὐ προσθή σουσιν · ἐὰν δὲ προσθῇς μαστιγῶσαι κτλ.

(i) In reading και before καθιει(ς) P. Ryl. Gk. 458 agrees with AFMN against B and Θ.

(ii) καθιει is peculiar to P. Ryl. Gk. 458. The only variants noted to καθιεῖς are the καθίσης of *l* and Cyril and the *constituent* (or *-unt*) of the Armenian and Ethiopic versions.

(iii) Whereas B reads ἐναντίον αὐτῶν, AFMΘ and the versions give ἔναντι τῶν κριτῶν and then add, as does P. Ryl. Gk. 458, καὶ μαστιγώσουσιν αὐτόν. Neither of these texts can have been that of P. Ryl. Gk. 458, but in sense it is closer to the reading of AFMΘ. After εν[αντιον it seems best to supply αυτ]ου (or εαυτ]ου), as suggested by Driver; it is, however, short and εν[αντιον | του λα]ου would fill the space a little better, but though this phrase is found in Deut. x, 11, the sense is different and there is no support for its presence here: whereas αυτου = αὐτοῦ corresponds to the ἔναντι τῶν κριτῶν of AFMΘ. For the sense of the text of P. Ryl. Gk. 458 must be "for he (sc. the judge) shall cast him (the offender) down in his (the judge's) presence." Both the Hebrew and the Syriac Peshitta provide an interesting parallel to this version (for what follows I am indebted to Driver): in this and the following lines the Peshitta has "if the guilty be guilty of chastisement, the judge shall cast him down and they shall scourge him according to the due of his folly." Similarly the text implied by the Hebrew is: ἐὰν ἄξιος ᾖ πληγῶν ὁ ἀσεβὴς καὶ καθιεῖ (or rather καθήσει) αὐτὸν ὁ κριτὴς καὶ μαστιγώσει αὐτὸν ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν (αὐτοῦ) ἀριθμῷ τεσσεράκοντα κτλ. Thus P. Ryl. Gk. 458, unlike the Hebrew, leaves the subject of καθιει unexpressed, but agrees with both Hebrew and Peshitta in placing the verb in the 3rd, not in the 2nd, person singular, while both have a word to correspond to εν[αντιον αυτ]ου. Alternatively, it would be possible to read και καθιει ‹ς› αυτον εν[αντι του | κριτ]ου: but though this would be a little closer to AFMΘ, it is not safe to assume gratuitous error in the MS.

(iv) μαστιγωσιν must be a scribal error for μαστιγώ‹σου›σιν, as it is clear from the other verbs that a future was intended here.

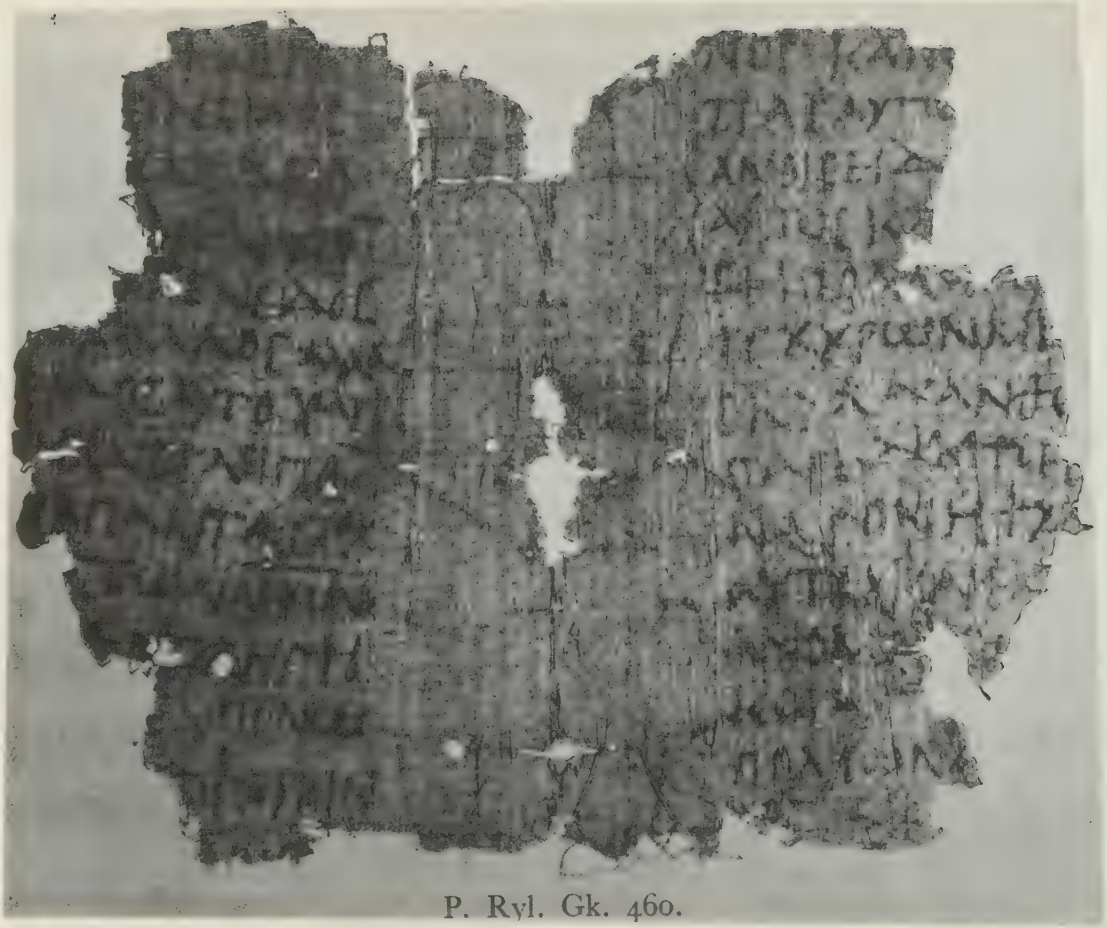
(v) After μαστιγω‹σου›σιν (l. 20), P. Ryl. Gk. 458 agrees with AFMNΘ, the versions and most of the cursives in reading εναντιον αυτων κατα την ασεβειαν αυτου; the whole clause is unrepresented in B. It may be noted that P. Ryl. Gk. 458 may well have read [εναντι αυ]των—it would suit the space rather better—and that the large space left after αυ]των suggests that κατα την ασεβ[ειαν αυτου] belongs to the following rather than to the preceding sentence.

(vi) In l. 22 P. Ryl. Gk. 458 certainly omitted the και before αριθμωι, found in B, but omitted by AFMNΘ and the versions.

24. Here again P. Ryl. Gk. 458 agrees with AFMNΘ and other authorities in reading προσθωσιν against B's προσθῇς: and I have followed these MSS. in supplying αυτον in this line (omitted by B).

It may be noted that the Syriac Peshitta also has "when they add" and the Hebrew "he shall not add": the singular verb in the Hebrew is probably due to Massoretic vocalisation, as in early unvocalised texts singular and plural forms of the verb were hardly distinguished (Driver).

26. In the supplement I have followed AFMNΘ and their allies rather than B's *εὐφρανθήσονται*.
27. It is probable that *κυριος* was written in full, *i.e.* that the scribe did not employ the theological contractions almost universal in later MSS. If he had written $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ there would be only 24 letters in the line, whereas the average number of letters in a line is 27. Similar calculations in the case of P. Ryl. Gk. 457 (see *An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 18) led to the conclusion that there also *nomina sacra* were written in full. Unfortunately in both cases conclusive proof is lacking ; but it looks as though the practice, whatever its origin, did not become general till the second century A.D.
28. The omission of *σε* after *γενέσθαι* is of some interest, for while all uncials agree in reading it, it is not in the Hebrew text, which has simply " to be " (Driver), and is also absent from the Armenian version and the cursives *agknx** and in the texts of Philo and Clement. It is at least evidence that such a reading, which might have been thought to be, in Greek MSS., of comparatively late origin, is, even if wrong, of considerable antiquity.
30. The fact that elsewhere P. Ryl. Gk. 458 consistently follows AFMNΘ and other MSS. in preferring the longer version makes it very likely that *πασας* (omitted by B) was inserted before *τας εντολας* : it also fills the space better.
33. A new column begins with this fragment. In this column the lines are slightly longer than in preceding columns : the average number of letters to a line is 29.
34. *ο βοηθων* : omitted by B. The length of the line makes it highly probable that P. Ryl. Gk. 458 omitted *σου* after *υιοι* as it certainly did after *θυγατερες* in l. 35. For this latter omission it has the support of the second corrector of F : for the former there is no other authority. We should expect both to be written or both to be omitted : probably this may be claimed as a new, if unimportant, variation for P. Ryl. Gk. 458.
36. Reasons of space as well as the general affinity of the MS. make it fairly probable that the papyrus read *οψονται* with FGMNΘ and most of the cursives rather than *βλέψονται* with B : it is in any case preferable to the *ἔσονται*—equally suitable as far as the space goes—of A.
37. As usual, P. Ryl. Gk. 458 agrees with AFMNΘ and the versions against B and reads *και* before *ουκ ισχυσει*.
44. If some part of *εὑρίσκω* is to be recognised here, this fragment cannot stand in close relation to any of the others, as, except in xxiv, 1, the text of which is preserved in (i), the word is not found. It does, however, occur in xxii frequently and in xxviii, 2.



P. Ryl. Gk. 460.

2.

FRAGMENT OF A TESTIMONY BOOK.

P. Ryl. Gk. 460. Acquired in 1917. 11·4 × 14·1 cm. Fourth century A.D. Written on papyrus of poor quality in reddish-brown ink. Provenance: probably the Fayûm.

THIS manuscript, part of a double leaf of a papyrus codex from which both the top and bottom are missing, consists of verses from different parts of the Septuagint; and, as is the case with not a few of the literary papyri in the Rylands collection, it has been found to be part of a manuscript, other fragments of which have made their way to another collection. In 1923 two fragments of a papyrus codex were edited by G. Rudberg in *Videnskapsselskapets Forhandlinger*, 1923 (2), under the title *Septuaginta Fragmente* and were later republished as no. 11 of Papyri Oslœnses II; from the photograph accompanying the original publication it was evident that P. Ryl. 460 belonged to the same MS., and a closer examination revealed that P. Oslo 11 fr. 1 forms the upper part of folio i, and P.Oslo 11 fr. 2 the upper part of folio ii of our text, thus confirming the conjecture of their original editor that both Oslo fragments were part of the same sheet. The Oslo fragments do not quite touch the Rylands papyrus at any point, although in neither folio is the gap more than a single line in depth; that the collocation is correct is, I think, conclusively proved by the ουσιν of l. 12 and the νος of l. 62, both of which complete the verses extant in the Oslo papyrus and cannot be related to the subsequent extracts in the Rylands papyrus. For the sake of completeness the Oslo fragments are, with Dr. Eitrem's kind permission, reprinted here:[1] they are underlined to distinguish them from the Rylands text.

As rearranged the combined texts contain the following extracts from the Old Testament:—

Folio 1 recto	Isaiah xlii. 3, 4.
	Isaiah lxvi. 18, 19.
Folio 1 verso	Isaiah lii. 15.
	Isaiah liii. 1-3.

[1] The text followed is that in P. Oslo 11, a little more complete than that of the original publication.

Folio 2 verso	Isaiah liii. 6-7 and 11-12.
Folio 2 recto	An unidentified verse.
	Genesis xxvi. 13, 14.
	II Chronicles i. 12.
	Deuteronomy xxviii. 8 and 11.

This order may seem peculiar in that Isaiah lxvi. precedes Isaiah lii. ; but it has the advantage of placing next to each other the two extracts from Isaiah liii. and the alternative method of arranging the pages, *i.e.* beginning with folio ii verso would result in greater disturbance of the proper order and would, moreover, be contrary to the obvious crease in the fold of the papyrus. That any other leaves intervened between folio i and folio ii is possible but hardly likely, as the quotation from Isaiah liii. 6 probably followed directly on that of Isaiah liii. 3 ; in the absence of numeration proof is impossible.

The Oslo fragments were described by their first editor as a *Textbuch für kultische Zweck*, the property of some poor Christian community in Egypt, and the editors of the Oslo papyri write that " Isaiah combined with Genesis suggests that the book was meant for liturgical use." But it is difficult to see how a collection of apparently random extracts could serve a liturgical purpose and the addition of the new fragments suggests a different solution. Anthologies, especially of passages of a gnomic or moral character, were popular in the ancient world and fragments of them have been found among papyri ; [1] but the anthologist of these verses from the Septuagint probably had a more definite purpose. The verses from Isaiah include part of the famous Messianic passages from chapters lii. and liii., and all the other extracts in this papyrus, if not exactly Messianic in character, can, I think, be related to the history either of Christ or of Christianity. Thus the verses from Genesis become intelligible when the beginning of v. 13, which must have stood at the foot of the preceding column, *i.e.* just after Isaiah liii. 7, is replaced :

καὶ ὑψώθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ προβαίνων

This verse, written of Isaac, would allow of the same sort of allegorical interpretation as is applied to Numbers xxi. 9 in

[1] Cf. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, 71 and 376.

John iii. 14—the keyword is the same in both cases, ὑψόω—and the rest of the passage takes its colour from the opening words. The passages from II Chronicles and Deuteronomy admit, if less obviously, of a similar interpretation, and the verses from Isaiah lxvi. clearly can be regarded as prophetic of Pentecost. (Verses 18 and 19 of this chapter are cited by Cyprian, *Testimonia*, ii, 21 ; the heading of the section is *Quam gentes magis in Christum crediturae essent*). In fact, what we have is part of a Book of Testimonies,[1] a collection of extracts from the Old Testament designed to prove the witness of the writers of the Old Testament to the truth of the Christian religion. Two such works have come down to us from antiquity, the *Testimonia* of St. Cyprian and the *Testimonia adversus Judaeos* attributed to St. Gregory of Nyssa. That the book of which these papyrus fragments form a part was distinct from both of these works, may be inferred from the fact that, apart from the quotations from Isaiah lii. and liii. which would inevitably find a place in any such collection, none of the other verses is employed either by St. Cyprian or St. Gregory. Further, they do not appear among the passages discussed or cited in *Testimonies*, and this, together with the fact that there is no trace of the introductory formulas which, in Dr. Harris' view, occasionally took the place of the initial words of a quotation from the Old Testament, suggests that it is not a fragment of *the* Testimony Book desiderated by Dr. Harris. But there may well have been more than one anthology of this kind ;[2] nor, if the original Testimony Book was distinctly polemical in character and directed at first against the Jews and in later times against the Mohammedans,

[1] I have to thank Dr. H. I. Bell for referring me to the standard work on the subject, *Testimonies*, by Rendel Harris and V. Burch (2 vols., Cambridge, 1916 and 1920), to which I am much indebted. Dr. Harris' main theses, that a Testimony Book was the first Christian book to be written, that its influence is to be traced not only in the Fathers, but throughout the New Testament, and that it may be identified with the logia attributed to St. Matthew and is still in existence, are not affected by the papyrus.

[2] It is interesting to note that Dr. A. Lukyn Williams, in Chapter I, "The Earliest Books of Testimonies," of his *Adversus Judaeos* (Cambridge, 1935), writes (p. 6) that there is "no direct evidence for the existence of *one* Book of Testimonies *par excellence*," and again (p. 7) "in fact there is every probability that there was not only one Book of Testimonies, but several."

need we assume that this book was of the same type. More probably it was simply a collection of " prophetic " passages from the Old Testament such as any devout Christian might possess, and in the fourth century, when our manuscript was written, the need for polemics against the Jews would be less than in the second. In one respect this discovery confirms a remark of Dr. Harris (*op. cit.*, i,' p. 1) when he writes that it is " a priori probable that they would be little books of wide range," and compares them to the Pocket Bible carried by Cromwell's soldiers ; the range of the passages quoted here is wide enough and the exceptional narrow format of the book (although its height was quite considerable) has already been discussed by G. Rudberg, *op. cit.* (who gives examples of MSS. of similar design).

The size of the book cannot be precisely determined as the bottom of both pages is missing. But probably not much is lost ; only one line is needed to complete the quotation from Isaiah at the bottom of folio ii verso, two lines would be adequate for the opening words of Genesis xxvi. 13 and the title would occupy the space of another two lines. Another extract may have intervened, but I think we may reckon with a column of *c.* 30 lines to the page and, with an existing top margin in the Oslo fragments of 4 cm., we may calculate that the book would have been some 28 cm. in height and 11 cm. in width (of which a full line of text would occupy only 5 cm.).[1] Rudberg, after pointing out that the papyrus is rough and of poor quality, remarks that the hand is a " gute Buchschrift " ; but with this description I cannot agree, for though large and clear, the hand is crude and irregular, with the letters slanting now in one direction, now in another. In general style it resembles that of P. Oxy. 209, a copy of Romans, i. 1-7 (according to the editors, the work of a schoolboy), which can be dated in the early fourth century. Our text may be assigned to the same period, and as the Oslo fragments were purchased in the Fayûm, the Fayûm is the most likely place of origin. The usual theological contractions occur, and in place of final ν, a short stroke is commonly added above the preceding vowel. Stops have been added by the first hand, with the ex-

[1] For this type of book, cf. Schubart, *Das Buch*,[2] 131 *sq.* and 186 : there are grounds for thinking that codices of this format are of relatively early date.

ception of that in l. 12, which, with the mark against l. 15, is in black ink. The rest of the manuscript is written in a reddish-brown ink which is better preserved in the Oslo frgaments than in the Rylands text. The end of a quotation is marked by a stop, followed in l. 12 by a short horizontal line ; there is no trace of subject headings.

It is not to be expected that the text of such a manuscript would be of any importance for textual criticisms ; neither its omissions (as in l. 17 and l. 24) or additions (as in l. 49) are of any significance, although a tendency to disagree with Vaticanus (B) may be noticed, *e.g.* 15, 45, 95. The textual notes attached to P. Oslo 11 have not been repeated : those relating to the Rylands fragment will be found after the text.

Folio i Recto

	τεθραυσμενο̣[ν ου]	Isaiah xlii. 3
	συντριψει και λ[ινο̄]	
	καπνιζομεν̣[ον]	
	ου σβεσει · αλλ[α εις]	
5	αληθειαν εξ̣[οισει]	
	κρισιν ανα[λαμ-]	4
	ψει και ου θρ[αυσθη-]	
	σεται ως α[ν θη]	
	επι της [γης κρισιν]	
10	[και επι τω ονοματι]	
	[αυτου] ε̣θ̣[νη ελπι-]	
	ουσιν ·—κα[γω τα ε-]	Isaiah lxvi. 18
	ργα αυτω[ν και τον]	
	λογισμο[ν αυτων]	
15	☓ επισταμ[αι]	
	ερχομαι συν̣[αγαγειν]	
	πασας τας γλω[σσας]	
	κ̄ς̄ η̣ξουσιν και οψ[ον-]	
	ται την δοξα[ν]	
20	μου και καλει[ψω]	19
	επ αυτων σημει[ον]	
	και αποστελω [εξ]	

αυτων σεσ[ωσμενους]
εις Θαρσε[ις και . . .]
25 και Μοσοχ [και εις Θο-]
θελ κα[ι εις την]
[Ε]λλα[δα]
. . . .

Folio i Verso

[οψο]νται και οι — Isaiah lii. 15
[ου]κ ακηκοασιν συ-
30 [η]σουσιν· κε̄ τις — Isaiah liii. 1
[επ]ιστευσεν τη ακο-
[η] ημων και ο βρα-
[χι]ων κῡ τινι
[απε]καλυφθη
35 [ανη]γγειλαμε̄ — 2
[εναντιο]ν αυτου
[ως παιδιον ως ρι-]
[ζα εν γη δι]ψωση
[ουκ εσ]τιν ειδος
40 [αυτω ο]υδε δοξα
[και ειδο]μεν αυτο̄
[και ουκ] ειχεν ειδος
[ουδ]ε καλλος· αλλα — 3
[το] ειδος αυτου ατι-
45 [μ]ον και εκλειπο̄
[π]αρα παντας του
[υιου]ς των ανων
[ανος] εν πληγη
[ων και] εν πονω
50 κς ειδ]ως φερειν
[μαλακι]αν ο[τι]
. . . .

Folio ii Verso

αυτον δια τας — Isaiah liii. 6
αμαρτιας ημω̄
δια το κεκα[κωσ-] — 7

θαι ουκ ανοιγ[ει]
το στομα α[υτου]
ως βροβα[τον]
επι σφαγη[ν ηχθη]
και ως αμ[νος]
εναντι[ον του]
κει[ρ]ον[τος αφω-]
νος· και τας αμαρ-] 11
τιας αυτω[ν αυτος]
ανοισει δ[ια τουτο] 12
αυτος κλ[ηρονομη-]
σει πολλους κ̅ς̅ [των]
ισχυρων με[ριει]
σκυλα· ανθ[ων]
παρεδοθη ει[ς θα]
νατον η ψυχ[η]
αυτου και εν [τοις]
ανομοι[ς] ελ[ογισθη]
και αυτ[ος αμαρτιας]
πολλων α[νηνεγκεν]
[κ̅ς̅ δι]α τ[ας ανομιας]
. . . .

Folio ii Recto

[μει]ζων εγενετο Genesis xxvi. 13
[ως ο]υ με[γα]ς εγε-
[νετο σ]φοδρα εγε 14
[νετο δε] αυτω
[κτηνη π]ροβατω̄
[και κτην]η βοω̄
[και γεωργ]ια πολλα
[ ] . λα
[ ]ατος
[ ] . ε[.]τι .
— —
[Παραλειπο]μενω̄
— —

[την σοφια]ν κς τη̄ II Chronicles i. 12
[συνεσιν δι]δ̣ωμι σο̣ι
[και πλουτον] και
90 [χρημα]τ̣α̣ και δο-
[ξαν δ]ωσω σοι

— — —

[Δευτε]ρονομιον

— —

[αποστε]λει κ̄ς̄ επι σε Deuteronomy xxviii. 8
[την ευ]λογιαν εν τοις
95 [ταμειοι]ς σου εν πασι
[ου αν επι]βα[λ]ης τη̄
[χειρα σου επι] τ̣ης γης
[και πληθυ]νει σε κ̄ς̄ 11
[ο θ̄ς̄ σου εις α]γαθα
100 [εν τοις εκγο]νοις τ̣η̣[ς]

. . . . .

15. The papyrus agrees with ℵ against the other MSS. in adding επισταμαι after αυτων. The sign placed in the margin against this line is probably a form of the common ℔ = ὡραῖον; that it calls attention to the uncertain reading is not likely.
17. All MSS. insert πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καί before πάσας.
20. Read κα<τα>λειψω.
22. No other authority is cited for αποστελω in place of ἐξαποστελῶ.
24. After Θαρσεὶς the MSS. read καὶ Φοὺδ καὶ Λοὺδ; one of the two has clearly been omitted in the papyrus.
25. Read Θοβελ.
45. εκλειπο(ν): so A and a later hand of Q; B reads εκλιπὸν.
46. Probably read του<ς>; it is just possible that the scribe wrote the ς in the next line, cf. ε|ργα in l. 12.
49 και εν πονω. This addition, not found in any other MS., was probably transferred by the writer from v. 4: ἐλογισάμεθα αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐν πόνῳ καὶ ἐν πληγῇ.
83 *sq.* It is fairly clear that the writer did not continue the passage from Genesis which runs ἐζήλωσαν δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Φυλιστιείμ; these three lines probably contained a quotation from another book, the title of which—a short one, as it has left no traces—was written in the space between 82 and 83.
93. αποστελει; so the versions and some of the cursives; the uncials read αποστείλαι.
95. εν πασι(ν): so AFMΘ and the versions; ἐπὶ πάντα B. καὶ before ἐν πᾶσιν is also omitted in the Bohairic and a few cursives.

DESIDERIUS ERASMUS.

1536—12th July—1936.

By THE EDITOR.

THE 12th of July marks the four-hundredth anniversary of the death of Desiderius Erasmus, "that subtle, great, little Dutchman," who subsequently became the great literary autocrat of Europe.

Erasmus was born at Rotterdam on the 27th October, 1466, "under circumstances which were unhappy indeed," as he himself confessed to a friend.

His real name was Gerard, although he is always known as Erasmus, which is the Greek form of Gerard "the well beloved," and Desiderius is the same word Latinised. It was an age of classical revival, hence the custom of burdening children with high-sounding Greek and Latin names.

At the age of four Erasmus was sent to school at Gouda, where his first schoolmaster wrote him down a dunce. His second tutor, Sinheim, sub-rector of the school at Deventer, told him to go on as he had begun, for perseverance was bound to carry him to the "topmost pinnacle of learning." The headmaster at Deventer, Alexander Hegius, enjoyed the distinction of knowing something of the Greek language, a rare distinction in those days, and there is evidence that Erasmus under his tuition not only made rapid progress in his Latin studies, but also laid the foundation of his knowledge of Greek. Erasmus early showed signs of great promise, and before he was well into his teens he had memorised the whole of Horace and Terence, had laid the foundation of his knowledge of Greek, and had been taught to bear himself like a gentleman, always and everywhere.

After the death of his parents, in 1484, when Erasmus was in

his seventeenth year, he was left to the care of three guardians, who unhappily proved unworthy of their stewardship, and in order to obviate the scandal of exposure they sought to persuade their charge to enter a monastery, and as a preliminary step he was placed in a house at Bois le-Duc, where the chief business was the training of young men for the regular orders. Here two years were spent, and when the guardian-uncle who had succeeded in obtaining a place for him among the Canons Regular of the Order of St. Augustin in the College of Sion, near Delft, Erasmus at first refused to take the vows. The passion of learning was upon him, but the university and not the cloister was his goal. Under the pressure of misleading representations of the happiness of the monastic life the opposition of Erasmus was worn down and he consented to join a religious order in the house of St. Gregory at Stein. Here he was given the run of the library, and in the course of a few months he had succeeded in reading through the principal Latin authors. Not relishing the company of the brethren, Erasmus sought to regain his freedom, but the meshes of the net had been so cleverly drawn around him, that struggle as he might he was unable to extricate himself, and so " with a sickening heart and unready words " the cowl was donned.

It was during his residence at Stein that *De contemptu mundi*, one of his first attempts at authorship, was written. This represented another side of the monastic shield, to the attractiveness of which Erasmus was not always blind.

To Erasmus the breath of life was freedom, and fortune was kind to him in that the Bishop of Cambrai (Henry of Bergen), who was in want of a secretary, having conceived a great liking for Erasmus, asked the Pope to grant his protégé a dispensation of non-residence so that he might accompany him on a tour of Italy. The Pope granted the favour, and the Prior of Stein was pleased to approve.

The project of the Bishop of Cambrai, however, fell through for lack of means, but to allay the disappointment, as far as Erasmus was concerned, it was decided that he should go to Paris and prosecute his studies at the University. Erasmus was fully twenty-five years of age when he took up residence at the University of

Paris, at that time one of the renowned schools of learning of Europe, where he won great fame as a scholar.

It became necessary for Erasmus to eke out the uncertain benefactions of the Bishop of Cambrai, who, we are told, was excellent in plighting his word but tardy in fulfilling it, by acting as tutor and coach to other students, one of whom, William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, persuaded Erasmus to visit him in England.

Erasmus was induced to accept Lord Mountjoy's invitation by the fame of the lectures of John Colet, afterwards to become famous as the Dean of St. Paul's, which spread not only throughout England but to the Continent. It was in 1499 that he came to England, and at once turned his face towards the universities, where his fame as a scholar had preceded him as is evident from the welcome he received from Colet upon his arrival at Oxford. He settled in the College of St. Mary, of the Order of the Augustinians, whose prior was Robert Charnock, a man of culture and refinement. Here the circle in which Erasmus found himself included Thomas Linacre, William Grocyn, and Thomas More.

The man of power at Oxford at that time was John Colet, who exerted a great influence upon Erasmus, for as he himself tells us later, his religious opinions were to a large extent moulded by his intercourse with Colet, and although in after years we are inclined to blame him for his timidity and vacillation, we are compelled to acknowledge the great service which he rendered to the cause of religion in Europe in general, and in this country in particular, by the influence which his lectures had upon the life and character of those of his scholars who were to carry forward to its accomplishment the mighty movement of the Reformation.

Thomas More, who later became Chancellor of Cambridge University, and Lord Chancellor of England, was also attracted to Oxford by the fame of Colet's lectures, and there commenced a life-long friendship with Erasmus. More, Archbishop Warham, and Bishop Fisher became the patrons of this famous Dutch scholar, and it was through their influence that some twelve years later, in or about the year 1511, he was appointed

Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and Lecturer in Greek.

The teaching of Erasmus at this time was revolutionary in the extreme, and gave great offence to the church authorities. He contended that men should no longer study theology in the schoolmen, Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas, but should go to the Fathers of the Church, and above all to the New Testament. He showed that the Latin Vulgate swarmed with faults, and rendered an immense service to the truth by publishing his critical edition of the Greek text with a new Latin translation. It was the fame of the teaching of Erasmus which induced Tindale to remove from Oxford to Cambridge, where, no doubt, he perfected himself in Greek, and came to regard Erasmus as his master and spiritual guide.

When thirty-three years of age Erasmus addressed himself to his first serious literary work the *Adagia*, a collection of proverbs culled from the classics. Each adage was illustrated by reflections extending in some instances to elaborate dissertations. The first edition was printed at Paris in 1500 and was composed of 818 Greek and Latin proverbs ; the last edition that passed through the author's hands was printed at Basel by Froben in 1523, and contained 4251 adages. This book hit the humour of the hour. It ran, during the author's lifetime, into sixty-two editions, and was hailed everywhere with enthusiasn as a work which saved men of letters the toil of original research. An apt classical quotation was a mark of scholarship then as now !

His next book was issued in 1503 under the title *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*. It was written with intent to win the soul of a profligate man he had come across during a visit to Tournehens. The gentleman thus cared for was of military rank, hence the title of the treatise and the form of composition. A soldier, it was expected, would find interest in military allusions, and the writer humbly hoped that " the little dagger " he had pleasure in handing to his friend would prove serviceable in the battle which every man must wage against sin and hell. The first edition does not seem to have made an impression on any man, not even on the man for whose special benefit it was composed. Not until the monks began to scent heresy in its pages did the

book command a sale. It was translated by Tindale into English ; Miles Coverdale issued an abridgment of it, and Spanish, French, Italian and German editions were published. The book was literally a " dagger " in the hands of all who desired to aim blows at the corruptions of the Church, as well as at the evils of their own individual hearts. Luther and his followers attached high value to the *Enchiridion*. It was condemned by the Sorbonne in 1543, when it shared with other heretical books the fate of burning by order of the Parliament of Paris.

In 1506 Erasmus paid a second visit to England, enjoying the fellowship of his friends More, Colet and Warham for five months. In September of that same year he proceeded to Turin, where the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him. His next halting place was Bologna, and from Bologna he was attracted to Venice by the fame of Aldus Manutius, the famous scholar-printer. His next move was to Padua, which after a short stay he left for Ferrara, and in 1509 he pushed his way to Rome. His stay in Rome was not specially eventful, a round of ecclesiastical interviews filled the time, and his circle of acquaintances included many humanists, among whom was Cardinal de Medici, afterwards Pope Leo X. Erasmus returned to England in September, 1509, a visit which opened the busiest and happiest period of his life, extending from 1509 to 1514.

The *Encomium Moriæ*, one of the choicest specimens of prose that satirical literature has to show, in which kings, popes, bishops, and the like, all came under his lash, was dashed off in the course of nine days immediately upon his arrival. It was dedicated to Sir Thomas More, under whose hospitable roof he was then staying, and in his preface Erasmus related how the idea of the work came into his mind, and explains the purpose he had in view in giving it to the world. As he journeyed to England he thought of the friend to whose house he was travelling, and the name " More," hit the humour of his meditations, which grouped themselves around the subject of the folly (*Μωρία*) of mankind in general, and of ecclesiastics in particular. Thus, the title of the satire was a pun on More's name. Never in the history of religion has satire cut so clean and so deep. People everywhere bought up the work, and 20,000 copies were

disposed of in the course of a few weeks. No fewer than forty-three editions appeared during the author's lifetime, and subsequent editions are practically innumerable. The Sorbonne condemned the work in 1542 and placed it upon the *Index Expurgatorius*, a sure indication of its bite and power.

During the five years of his residence in England, Erasmus completed his collation (1509-1514) of the Greek New Testament. The first edition of the *New Instrument*, as he chose to call it, was not published until March, 1516. Cambridge may therefore share with the famous printer-publisher, Johann Froben of Basel, the hónour of publication. The Greek text of the "Complutensian Polyglot," though printed in 1514, two years before the appearance of that of Erasmus, was not actually published until March, 1520, by which time the second and revised edition of the Erasmus Testament was in circulation. To Froben and Erasmus, therefore, belongs the distinction of having issued the *edito princeps* of the Greek New Testament. It was dedicated to Pope Leo X., and of the two first editions 3300 copies were exhausted in three years. Judged by the light of present-day scholarship, Erasmus's Testament is in many points defective. The manuscripts to which he had access were comparatively few, and recent, and not in every instance accurately read, but it was pioneer work, and his edition of 1519 provided Luther with the Greek text and a new Latin translation, whilst the further revision, which he issued in 1522, rendered the same service to Tindale.

Five editions of the New Testament were issued during the lifetime of Erasmus, each one being filled out with paraphrases, which, from the point of view of twentieth-century knowledge, was mere padding, although acceptable to scholars of that day.

In the summer of 1514 Erasmus again left England at the behest of Johann Froben, who wanted an editor for the works of St. Jerome, and during the next three years he was thrice in England, twice at Basel, once at Louvain, and once at Brussels.

Honours now fell upon him thick and fast. Duke Ernest of Bavaria invited him to Ingolstadt University; a bishopric in Sicily was offered to him; Francis I. wanted him to

found a new school of learning in France; and Charles I. of Spain, afterwards Emperor Charles V., appointed him one of his counsellors. The last-named honour was acknowledged in the dedication of the treatise *Institutio Principis Christiani*, an essay on the duties of Christian princes in the government of the people, in which Erasmus inveighs against war:

"Everybody may see that wars lead to wars, one conflict treading upon the heels of another, and that without pause or end. It has been demonstrated over and over again that the gain of all such upheavals is *nil*, and on this account I hold that some other way out of difficulty should be found. Why not call in the aid of your bishops, and abbots, your men of learning and jurisprudence? By an appeal to their judgment one would have more hope of setting crooked things straight than by resorting to murder and plunder and widespread calamity."

About this time *Querela pacis undique gentium ejectæ profligatæque* (*The Complaint of Peace*) was issued by Froben. This contained a tremendous philippic against war. Erasmus was consistent in his opposition to the war fever of his time. The sight of armies waving on the field banners stamped with a cross draws from him the exclamation:

"What! is cross pitted against cross, Christ at war with Christ? Can impiety further go? Princes might engrave upon their weapons images of the saints and christen their guns by the names of Apostles, but they would not succeed in making sacred so iniquitous a traffic in the bodies and souls of men."

The most popular of the writings of Erasmus is the *Familiar Colloquies*, which grew from small beginnings in 1516 in the *Colloquiorum formulæ* to the larger editions of 1523 and 1530. Hearing that the book was likely to be condemned by the University of Paris, one publisher printed off an edition of 24,000 copies. The conversational sketches that make up the work deal with subjects that came home to men of every rank of society: "Family discourse," "Rash vows," "Benefice hunting," "The Soldier's confession," "On speaking untruthfully," "Concerning Faith," "The Assembly or Parliament of Women," "The Shipwreck," etc. Professor Saintsbury in his work *The Earlier Renaissance* has pointed out the place of these dialogues in the evolution of the drama and the novel. Several of the colloquies are referred to as "novel chapters." It is hinted that Defoe was indebted to "The Shipwreck" for some of his most

vivid passages, while "The poetical banquet" is styled a scene of literary life three hundred years older than the nineteenth century. Charles Reade has successfully adapted a description of sixteenth century inn life from what he found in the colloquy on "The Inns." In "The Parliament of Women" the fair president declares:

"Our honour ladies consists mainly in dress, but so hopelessly confused are we with regard to these things that a duchess can hardly be distinguished from the wife of a tradesman, or a married woman from single girls. Every one wears what clothing she pleases. Women that are next door to being paupers walk out decked in velvet and silks . . . in gold and silver . . . while their husbands stop at home to clean the shoes. . . . Accordingly the evil of present-day fashion is twofold; extravagance brings families to want, and all lines of distinction between the upper and the lower ten are blurred . . . even in matrimonial matters there is scarce any sense of decency, noblemen's daughters are united to tradesmen's sons, and the daughter of a shopkeeper to the son of a belted earl."

The "new woman" it would appear is at least four centuries old, for says Erasmus through the president,

"We have a bone to pick with the men too. They shut us out from all honourable employments and regard us in the light of washerwomen and cooks, while they have control of everything and do pretty much as they have a mind. . . . Who can tell we may not some day so assert ourselves as that we shall be allowed to take our share in the management of the affairs of state—I refer to those questions which admit of settlement on the hearthstone and without arms."

The work was condemned by the University of Paris in 1528, and subsequently was enrolled upon the *Index Expurgatorius*. Luther also expressed an adverse judgment, and says he would rather die than allow the book to fall into the hands of children. But the *Colloquies* were not written for children, they were for men of nerve. As a mirror of the religious world of the early sixteenth century they are of special value, and no student of the times can afford to ignore them.

Erasmus had now attained the "topmost pinnacle of letters." He stood apart from his fellows, confessedly the greatest scholar of his age.

The strenuous day of the Reformation was at hand, and the world demanded of its leaders something more than jests and raillery. A subtle change had been passing over the Western World; intellectually and spiritually men were not as they were.

The revival of letters, the invention of printing, especially the dissemination of the Scriptures, were slowly changing the atmosphere of Europe. For long before Luther's day the democratic spirit began to assert itself in sacred as well as in civic affairs. For years Erasmus had been fighting Luther's battle, and the young monk evidently thought so. In 1519 a letter passed between them in which Luther acknowledges Erasmus's greatness, and modestly confesses that his ignorance is such that he cannot presume to stand with him under the same sky and sun. Erasmus's reply was not what Luther had hoped for; he had asked for the bread of sympathy and co-operation but was offered the stone of a sermon.

Erasmus was irritated to find that men were coupling their names together, and that rumour was afloat that the Lutheran tracts had been inspired if not written by Erasmus himself. He could not allow himself to be saddled with the responsibility of everything Luther might say or do. If only the monks could succeed in getting Erasmus and Luther into the same boat, it would be an easy task to sink them both together. In a letter to Cardinal Wolsey Erasmus declares that "Luther and I are complete strangers. . . . In all his books not a stroke of a letter is mine. I can ensure the moderation of my own pen, but I cannot be held responsible for other men's extremes." Again and again Erasmus professes sympathy with Luther's aims but distrusts his revolutionary methods, and winds up with the declaration that the controversy is after all nothing to him.

That Erasmus was constitutionally timid is clear on his own confession. "Let others affect martyrdom, as for me I do not consider myself worthy of the honour. It is not every man who has sufficient courage for martyrdom; I feel I should be like Peter did I ever find myself in Peter's place."

In a taunting epistle addressed to certain of his exasperated opponents, or as he describes them, "certain most impudent jackdaws," Erasmus declares:

"Old man that I am, I bear unaided a burden which would bend four pair of strong young shoulders. My eyes are not dim, God be praised. . . . I have not yet been obliged to use spectacles either by candle-light or by day. I never handle a stick. I walk straight-shouldered. My hands are steadier than those of a youth.

. . . My intimate friends detect no lapses of memory. . . . And ' this decrepit old man ' they have made up their minds to annihilate by their books. They should have chosen daggers ; it matters not at all what weapons they use if they have the temper of assassins. Yet this ' decrepit old man ' has introduced you to Jerome, and Cyprian, and Augustine, and is even now making you acquainted with Chrysostom, from whose writings, and from the works of Athanasius he has made many a translation. He has illuminated passage after passage in the New Testament from Greek writers ; if they do but turn to the index they will see at once how greatly indebted they are on the score of scholarship and of religion to ' this decrepit old man.' . . . Henceforth I shall hold them in contempt and only wish I had always thus treated them, for there is little fun in setting oneself to drown the croaking of frogs."

From 1516 to 1521 Erasmus lived chiefly at Louvain making frequent journeys to Brussels and to Basel, and in 1517 he went for the last time to England. At Louvain he took an active interest in the founding of Hieronymus Busleiden's Collegium Trilinguæ, and there, too, he prepared his edition of the Christian Fathers.

In 1521 the old school-fellow of Erasmus, formerly divinity professor at Louvain, was elevated to St. Peter's Chair as Adrian VI., and Erasmus in congratulating him suggested methods which would put an end to the existing distress, and at his request took up his pen and published the treatise on Free Will, *De libero Arbitrio* from the press of Froben in 1524. Adrian did not live to see it in print, but his successor Clement VII., nephew of Lorenzo the Magnificent, welcomed it. It was not small gain to the Church that Erasmus had been drawn into the open against Luther. This small treatise of sixteen pages contained some of Erasmus's most pointed writing.

Luther replied to Erasmus twelve months later in what he described as " an answer to so unlearned a treatise by so learned a man," *De Servo Arbitrio*, which provoked a heated reply entitled *Hyperaspistes diatribæ adversus servum arbitrium Martini Lutheri*, in which we have the unpleasant figure of personal recriminations, each indicting the other in the most unqualified terms. The " little rift in the lute " rapidly widened, and in the end he who was once Luther's " dearest brother " and " the most honoured of men " is transformed into " that venomous viper, Erasmus of Rotterdam, the most inflated soul in all the world."

A gracious attempt on the part of Melanchthon, Luther's friend, to bring Luther and Erasmus again into line was unsuccessful. The breach was irreparable. " I look upon Erasmus as the worst enemy that Christ has had for a thousand years " was Luther's pronouncement.

In 1527 Erasmus's friend Froben the printer, a genuine bibliophile, passed away. Erasmus never forgot a most trivial service, and eulogises Froben as " an ideal friend so ingenuous and sincere that even if he had wished to conceal anything he could not have done it, so repugnant was it to his nature. He was a man of unswerving integrity. . . . "

After Froben's death Erasmus decided to leave Basel which was becoming more pronouncedly Lutheran every day, and in April, 1529, he removed to Freiburg, where he was received with every mark of respect. It was a place to rest in. In the upset of removal he made time to go through a large batch of correspondence with a view to publication through John Hervagius, Froben's successor. The volume appeared in September, 1531, under the title *Epistolæ Floridæ*. This work had been preceded in 1529 by the *Opus Epistolarum*, a collection of letters divided into twenty-four books. As early as 1523 Erasmus remarks : " I have written and am still writing such a quantity of letters, that two waggons would scarcely be equal to carry them."

The Diet of Augsburg was held on the 8th April, 1530, but illness prevented Erasmus from sharing in its deliberations. He was kept posted as to its progress, but what the end was to be Erasmus was at a loss to know. " Unless God interposes in the matter there is no way of escape, we shall see revolution."

After six years of continuous literary activity Erasmus returned to Basel in August, 1535, as it turned out to die. In a letter dated the 14th August he writes pathetically :

" My life has been long if measured by years. Take from it the time lost in struggling against disease, it has not been so very long after all. You talk of the great name I shall leave behind me, and which posterity is never to let die ! Very kind and friendly on your part, but I care nothing for fame and nothing for posterity. I desire only to go home and find favour with Christ."

The desire for " home " was intensified when news came of the martyrdoms of Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More.

His last days were spent in the home of Jerome Froben, the son of his old friend, where everything was done that loving hearts could do to smooth his pathway. He breathed his last breath on the 12th July, 1536, and to the last his pen was in his hand. When death came he was absorbed in the task of restoring the Greek text of Origen. With these words on his lips : "O Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy upon me ! I will sing of the mercy of God and of His judgment," he laid himself down in the chamber called Peace. Death found him as it found his great predecessor Petrarch, " in study and in prayer."

All Basel mourned at the funeral. Students carried the body on their shoulders to the cathedral ; the chief magistrate, many members of the city council, and the professors of the university, walked in procession to the grave. The spot chosen was on the left side of the church, by the chapel of the Virgin, near the steps that lead up to the choir.

We have not been able to do more than very briefly refer to the most noteworthy of the works which fell in rapid succession from the pen of Erasmus. The bare enumeration of the titles of the individual works would add very many pages to this sketch.

The collected works of Erasmus, *Opera omnia*, were published in 9 volumes folio, from the press of Froben, in 1540 ; another edition, edited by J. Clericus, was published in Leiden, in 1704-1706, in 10 volumes folio.

As a correspondent Erasmus surely had no rival. Many collections of *Letters* were gathered together and issued during his lifetime. The first was a small quarto volume issued in 1515. This was followed by other editions in 1516, 1517, 1518, 1519, 1521, 1524, 1525, 1529, 1531, and 1536. A collection of 2356 letters, edited by the late Dr. Percy S. Allen, President of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and Mrs. Allen, under the title *Opus Epistolarum*, forming eight volumes, has been published by the Oxford University Press between 1906 and 1934. This will form the definitive edition of the letters of Erasmus.

The earlier letters of Erasmus have been translated by F. W. Nichols, and published in two vols. by Longmans, 1901-1904.

The autobiography of Erasmus, *Compendium Vitæ Erasmi*,

was written in 1524 but was not printed separately until 1607, although it was included in the *Opera omnia* of 1540.

Of the many biographies and studies which have been published the most authoritative are by the following writers: Samuel Knight (1726); J. Jorten (1758-1760), 2 vols.; R. B. Drummond (1873), 2 vols.; F. Seebohm in *Oxford Reformers* (1887); J. A. Froude (1894); E. Emerton (1899); E. F. H. Capey (1902).

WILLIAM TINDALE: SCHOLAR AND MARTYR
1536—6TH OCTOBER—1936.

BY THE EDITOR.

"GREAT characters have not infrequently been raised from an obscurity which baffles all research."

That is true of William Tindale, who, more than any other man, has left the impress of his character and scholarship upon the pages of our national Bible.

Of his early life little is known. He was born, probably about 1484, somewhere in Gloucestershire, a county which, in his day, was held to be the very stronghold of the Church. So predominant was the influence of the clergy that "as sure as God is in Gloucester" came to be a familiar proverb over all England. Nowhere was religion more entirely a thing of form and ceremony, and of all these ceremonies, in many cases meaningless, young Tindale, shrewd and thoughtful from his childhood, must have been a careful observer, for when at a subsequent period he directed all the energy of his pen against the superstitious practices allowed by the Church his recollections of what he had seen around him in his youth furnished him with endless illustrations with which to point his arguments.

The same obscurity which hangs over the year and place of his birth hangs over that of his parentage. Among the traditions regarding his family is one to the effect that they came from the North during the Wars of the Roses and for a time adopted, probably for purposes of concealment, the name of Hitchins, variously spelt Hotchyns, Hytchyns, Huchens, and Hychyns.

In Boas and Clarke's *Register of the University of Oxford* (1885) our young scholar is entered under the name of "William Huchens or Hychens," and in a number of documents he is referred to as "William Hitchyns sometimes called William Tindale." In the introduction to the first edition (1528) of his

Obedience of a Christian Man, Tindale describes himself as "William Tyndale otherwise called William Hychins unto the Reader."

The name of Hitchins was afterwards abandoned, and the family resumed their old and rightful name of Tindale.

At an early age Tindale was sent to Oxford, where he imbibed something of the new spirit of enthusiasm with which John Colet impregnated the scholars of his own and the succeeding generations. He was entered at Magdalen Hall, a dependency of Magdalen College, which later was incorporated as Hertford College.

John Foxe in his *Acts and Monuments of the latter and perilious dayes touching matters of the Church* . . . (1563) tells us "By long continuance he [Tindale] grew up and increased as well in the knowledge of tongues, and other liberal arts, as especially in the knowledge of the Scriptures whereunto his mind was singularly addicted; insomuch that he read privily to certain students and fellows of Magdalen College some parcel of divinity, instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures."

Having proceeded to the degrees of the schools (he took his B.A. in 1513 and proceeded to his M.A. in 1515 or 1516) Tindale removed to Cambridge, attracted no doubt by the fame of the teaching of Erasmus, who for several years, commencing in 1511, was giving instruction in Greek, beginning with the "Catechism" of Chrysoloras and proceeding to the larger grammar of Theodorus Gaza. It was here that Tindale perfected himself in Greek, for upon his arrival in London in 1523, as he himself tells us, he was able to produce as proof of his qualifications as a translator one of the "Orations" of Isocrates which he had translated from Greek into English.

The teaching of Erasmus at his time was revolutionary in the extreme and gave great offence to the Church authorities. He contended that men should no longer study theology in Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas, the schoolmen, but should go to the Fathers of the Church, and above all to the New Testament. He showed that the Latin Vulgate swarmed with faults, and he rendered an immense service to the truth by publishing in 1516 his critical edition of the Greek text of the New Testament, accompanied by a new Latin translation.

This was the scholar who exercised such a far-reaching influence upon Tindale, that he regarded him as his master and spiritual guide.

In 1521 Tindale left Cambridge to act as chaplain to Sir John Walsh at Little Sodbury, Gloucestershire, where he soon came into violent controversy with many of the Church dignitaries of the neighbourhood, and in order to refute their errors he did not hesitate to confront them with "the open manifest words of Scripture." This matter of fact way of dealing with the arguments of these divines gave great offence.

One day Lady Walsh who had listened to these heated arguments took Tindale aside and asked him whether it was reasonable that his opinions should be accepted rather than those of their learned guests. Tindale felt the rebuke, and at once set to work to translate from Latin into English a little book written by Erasmus in 1503, entitled *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, or, *The Manual of a Christian Knight*, which was an outspoken protest against the wicked lives of the monks and friars. Here was the authority of his master and spiritual guide, the learned Erasmus, surely this would convince those who had refused to be persuaded by his own arguments and by Scripture. This he presented to Sir John and Lady Walsh, and after they had read the book, we are told, that the great prelates no longer found so ready a welcome awaiting them at Little Sodbury, and at last they discontinued their visits.

It was about this time that Tindale announced his intention of translating the Bible into the language of the people. Happening one day to enter into argument with one of the reputed learned divines, who in the heat of controversy asserted that "we had better be without God's laws than the Pope's," Tindale startled those around him by declaring, "I defy the Pope and all his laws . . . if God spare my life, ere many years, I will cause the boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the Scriptures than thou doest"; words which were suggested to Tindale by a striking passage in the *Paraclesis ad lectorem pium*, or, Latin *Exhortation*, prefixed by Erasmus to his edition of the Greek-Latin New Testament, which being translated reads: "I would to God the ploughman would sing a text of

the Scripture at his ploughbeam, and that the weaver at his loom with this would drive away the tediousness of time. I would the wayfaring man with this pastime would expel the weariness of his journey. And to be short I would that all the communication of the Christian should be of the Scripture, for in a manner such are we ourselves as our daily tales are."

It soon became evident to Tindale that Little Sodbury was no longer a safe retreat for one who gave utterance to such views, and he resolved to remove to London in the hope of finding a sympathetic patron in the Bishop of London (Cuthbert Tunstall), whose great learning had been praised by Erasmus.

In the middle of May, 1523, Tindale made his way to London, and after a year's residence there, he found that not only was there no room in London, but that there was no place in all England in which to carry out his self-imposed task. If it could only be done in exile, and in peril of life, these were but potent reasons why it should be done and done quickly.

Tindale did not hesitate to give up his country in favour of his work, and in May, 1524, he proceeded to Hamburg, where in little more than a year he completed his translation of the New Testament.

Of his movements during this period, and of what he accomplished, little is known, but there is no doubt that his earliest efforts to benefit his countrymen was the publication of a separate edition of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, in confirmation of which a number of documents could be cited. Unfortunately not a single copy of these " first prents " is at present known.

In order to get his New Testament printed, Tindale made his way to Cologne, a town famous for its printers, where he entered into arrangements with Peter Quentel to print it.

The work of printing had not proceeded beyond the end of St. Matthew's Gospel when further progress was frustrated by one of the bitterest enemies of the Reformation, a man named Johann Dobneck, who called himself " Cochlæus," at whose instigation the Senate prohibited further progress with the work. Fortunately news of this action on the part of the Senate reached Tindale's ears, and he was able to snatch up the sheets that

had been printed off, and steal away by ship to Worms, a city in every way favourable to his purpose, since it was the head-quarters of Lutheranism, where four years earlier Luther had triumphantly defended his doctrine before the Emperor Charles the fifth, whereas Cologne was devoted to the Roman faith.

By the end of 1525 some thousands of copies of the New Testament were ready for distribution, and arrangements were made for their transport to England, in defiance of the orders of the King and Wolsey, who did everything in their power to prevent this invasion of England by the Word of God.

To what extent Tindale was dependent on other versions, in the epilogue at the end of the Worms edition "To the Reader," Tindale declares, "I had no man to counterfet neither was holpe with englysshe of any that had interpreted the same or sōch lyke thīge ī the scripture befortyme . . ."

A careful examination of Tindale's version reveals the fact that he translated direct from the Greek, using as collateral helps the Latin Vulgate, Erasmus's Greek-Latin Text (1522), and Luther's German New Testament (1522). We have Tindale's assurance that he neither visited nor conferred with Luther, but a comparison of Luther's New Testament with that of Tindale shows that our translator was greatly dependent upon Luther's version.

The English Bible with which we are so familiar is in its form and substance the work of Tindale. Neither did the scholars of King James's day, who were responsible for the "Authorised Version," nor the Revisers of 1881, produce a new translation. Indeed, the many revisions undertaken since Tindale's day have been built, one and all, upon his version, which was taken and simply compared with the Greek and Hebrew texts.

There can be no better testimony to the value of Tindale's work than that provided by the Revisers of 1881, who admitted that the new version was to all intents and purposes Tindale's work, and that eighty per centum of the words of the "Revised New Testament" stand as they stood in Tindale's revised version of 1534, for they could not find in the English language more felicitous phrases than those employed by our translator.

Considered as a literary undertaking Tindale's work marks an epoch in the literary history of our country. As a master of English prose Tindale stands unrivalled. We often speak of what Shakespeare did for our language, forgetting that nearly a century before his day, at a time when the language was still unformed, when as yet it had not been made the vehicle of any great literary undertaking, Tindale proved to the world that it was possible to express the highest truths in the clearest manner with simplicity and with grace, thus exercising a permanent influence of the most beneficial kind on the literary taste of the English-speaking people. That is what made the appeal immediate and widespread in Tindale's day, and that is what must keep it fresh and searching while the English tongue is spoken among men.

Of the purity of Tindale's motive we have ample evidence in the fact that the New Testament was issued without the translator's name until 1534, when he was moved to write an address under his full name "Willyam Tindale, yet once more to the christen reader," in which he defends his own translation against the pretended corrections in a so-called revision of his translation by George Joye. It was not intended to secure his fame. He had not laboured for money or for applause, but, to quote his own words in the preface to *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, "was content patiently to abide the reward of the last day."

After the completion of the New Testament, Tindale settled down to study Hebrew, in order to qualify himself to deal with the books of the Old Testament as he had done with those of the New. Hebrew was not studied at Oxford at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and Robert Wakefield, the first Hebrew Professor at Cambridge, only commenced his lectures in 1524, the year Tindale quitted England. Many Jews were to be found in the old German towns, so that he would experience no difficulty in obtaining the necessary instruction.

In 1527 Tindale found it necessary to change his place of residence, on account of Wolsey's vigorous efforts to get him into his power, removing from Worms to Marburg in Hesse-Cassel, where he spent the greater part of the five years following, leaving Marburg for Antwerp in 1531. Here in the intervals of

study and work upon the Old Testament he found time to issue the three principal doctrinal and controversial works which constitute his manifesto.

The first to be published, in 1528, was *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon :* an exposition of the parable of the unjust steward, in which the writer makes an attack on the so-called spirituality, which had taken away the key of knowledge and had beggared the people ; and at the same time expounds the doctrine of justification by faith. This work threw the Church authorities into a state of great rage, it was condemned on all sides, and was held up to public detestation.

Tindale felt that this manifesto was insufficient, so he followed it up, in the same year, by *The Obedience of a Christian Man, and how Christian rulers ought to govern : wherein also if thou mark diligently thou shalt find eyes to perceive the crafty conveyance of all jugglers.* He knew that to teach the views he expressed could only be done at the risk of his life, but he was ready to dare all, if need be to die, in order to expose the infamy of the Church, and to set men free from the debasing teaching of its hideous hypocrisy. It is one thing to see the falseness of error, but it is not always so easy to see the trueness of the truth, and Tindale, not content merely to overthrow the hypocrisies of Rome, builds up a simple faith in the Gospel.

The bishops at their wit's end to know how to arrest the progress of this heresy decided that as the press had been instrumental in circulating the poison, it should be employed to circulate the antidote. Consequently, Sir Thomas More, at that time indubitably the greatest literary genius in England, was requested to take up the pen and champion the cause of the Church, which he did, and before the end of the year (1528) he had published his *Dyalogue*, the first instalment of his long controversy in which he attacked not only Tindale but Barnes, Frith, and Sir John Soame. This literary combat lasted for five years, but in the end Tindale won, for, as More himself confessed, if brevity is the soul of wit it is also the essence of retort, and a confutation ten times the length of the work it is intended to demolish is a failure.

In 1530-1531 Tindale printed the Pentateuch at Antwerp at

the press of Johann Hoochstraten under the fictitious imprint of "Marlborough," from which press a number of other books, including his three indictments of the Roman hierarchy, were also issued, the latest of which, *The Practice of Prelates*, excited the fury of King Henry, since in it Tindale had the temerity to denounce the King's divorce proceedings.

In 1531 the translation of the Book of Jonah was completed, and this also was probably printed at Antwerp.

Feeling that his security was now very precarious Tindale quitted the Low Countries and for many months wandered up and down Germany like a fugitive, hoping in that way to baffle the ingenuity of his pursuers.

Finally he determined to settle in Antwerp, there to watch the progress of events in his native land. Here he returned with all his energies to his great work of translation. In 1534 he re-issued the Pentateuch, but the year is specially memorable for the publication of the revision of the New Testament, which was printed at Antwerp by Martin Emperour. This was the revised text which formed the basis of all the subsequent revisions down to and including the Revision of 1881.

In 1535 another revision appeared, "yet once agayne corrected by Willyam Tindale," which is considered to be the last edition to be revised by the translator himself, and forms the basis of the "Thomas Matthew Bible" of 1537.

With the publication of the 1534 Testament Tindale's hopes began to rise after long years of toil and danger. The sky was brightening. For eight years it had been a crime to purchase, sell, or read a copy of the New Testament in the native tongue. Now the persecution had died down and men might even dare to possess the English Bible, and to read it. In some respects England was now a safer place than the Low Countries, where the Inquisition was armed with unrestricted authority to seize all suspected persons, and try, torture, confiscate, and execute without any right of appeal, because Lutheranism had continued to make such rapid strides.

Hitherto Tindale had led a charmed life, but a subtle plot was hatched which could scarcely fail of success. Whilst resident in Antwerp he was the guest of an influential citizen who was able

to shield his visitor from harm so long as he remained inside the house. But in May, 1535, plans were laid to decoy him away from his refuge, when he was seized and hurried away to Vilvorde, a castle some eighteen miles from Antwerp, which was the principal state prison, where he was to spend the last sixteen months of his life.

The trial on the charge of heresy occupied some five or six months, which was accounted for by the customary slow process of written attack and defence. Notwithstanding all the efforts of his friends in England and the Low Countries to procure for him protection he was condemned to death. The verdict had been foreseen. Tindale was in the hands of his unrelenting enemies, and for him there was only one pathway of escape. Sentence of death was passed on him on the 12th of August, 1536. A respite of two months was granted during which Tindale struggled bravely to finish his great work.

In a letter discovered a few years ago, written during his imprisonment to the Governor of the fortress of Vilvorde, Tindale, in touching language, begs for warmer clothing, and that he might be allowed the use of his Hebrew books, Bible, grammar and dictionary.

There is good reason for believing that he left behind him in manuscript a translation of the Books of the Old Testament from Joshua to 2 Chronicles, and that this part of his work was included in the "Thomas Matthew Bible" of 1537, the name "Matthew" probably hiding the identity of Tindale's friend, John Rogers, to whom the manuscripts were entrusted.

On Friday the 6th of October, 1536, Tindale was led forth from his cell, where he had spent so many months, to the place of execution. Being led to the stake, which, as if in derision, was fashioned like a cross, Tindale requested a few moments for private prayer. The request was granted, and in this last act we have fresh proof of the nobility and unselfishness of his character. Death had no terrors for him; he thought not of his own suffering, he was but going home. His warfare accomplished, his labours completed, he but awaited his rest like a brave soldier of Christ.

Raising his eyes to heaven he prayed with all the fervour he

could command: "Lord, open the King of England's eyes," a prayer that was nearer to its answer than the heroic martyr deemed. The faggots were then piled around him, and at a given signal he was first strangled, in accordance with the law, which condemned only Anabaptists to be burned alive, and his body was burned.

His unrelenting enemies had succeeded in cutting short his life, but his work was beyond their power. Like the seed of the parable, it has grown into the mightiest of trees. There is scarcely a corner of the globe into which English energy has not penetrated, and wherever the English language is heard there the words in which Tindale gave the Bible to his countrymen are repeated with heart-felt reverence as the holiest and yet the most familiar of words. These words are the first that the opening intellect and faith of the child receives from the lips of its mother, they are the last that tremble upon the lips of the dying man, as he commends his soul to God.

No voice of scandal has ever been raised against William Tindale. There are no black spots in his life, which it has been necessary for his biographers to whitewash. Truth alone can bear the test of time, and the more the life of Tindale is examined the more he is found to be deserving of the love and veneration of his countrymen.

FURTHER LETTERS OF THE JOHNSON CIRCLE.

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IN 1931 the John Rylands Library acquired from Mrs. Colman two large boxes of letters and family papers once belonging to Hester Thrale-Piozzi. At the time it was generally supposed that these represented the last portions of her valuable collection which would come to light. Recently, however, Mrs. Colman found among the papers of her father, the late Major Salusbury, three more portfolios of Piozziana, and these were promptly secured by the John Rylands Library. Added to the rich collection of documents relating to the period of George III. already available, the purchase provides new evidence about the character and relationships of the personalities immortalized by Boswell.

The new acquisition consists for the most part of holograph letters. Three of them are addressed to Dr. Johnson; three to Henry Thrale; and 102 to the pert Mrs. Thrale-Piozzi, the "Mistress" of Streatham and rival of the irrepressible Boswell. Five are addressed to other correspondents. Together with these genuine letters are copies of others in Mrs. Thrale's handwriting, and a quantity of miscellaneous papers in various hands. These latter consist of poems, epigrams, first drafts for passages in Mrs. Piozzi's books, scraps from letters and journals, and, in a recent hand, a detailed index to the six volumes of the great "Thraliana" diary.

To most people the items intimately connected with Dr. Johnson will be the most interesting, although actually there is only one written by the great man himself. As might be expected, this is one of the letters addressed to Mrs. Thrale which

she published in her edition of Johnson's correspondence.[1] It is dated 20th May, 1779, as he was leaving for Lichfield and she for Brighton. Strangely it does not seem to have been signed, for the note ends with a final *Vale*, which Johnson evidently considered sufficient, in place of the usual formal conclusion.

But if there is only one Johnson letter in the collection, and that already published, a number of the others add information about him. Three of the letters are definitely addressed to him. Each of these three is connected with an act of compassion on the part of Johnson. To be sure, no additional proof is needed of his reputation for benevolence, but this side of the great man's nature is sometimes forgotten in our remembrance of his forceful conversation. The record of his talk is apt to obscure the kind sympathy which was the mainspring of the man.

Johnsonians are familiar with the publication in 1932 by Mr. J. D. Wright of a series of unpublished letters to and from Dr. Johnson in the John Rylands collection.[2] Mr. Wright printed in his article a long Richardsonian appeal to Johnson from S. J. C. Pratt, a young gentleman of good family who had quarrelled with his parents over a love affair, and was in destitute circumstances. This letter, dated 6th April, 1769, is prolix and sentimental, but the urgent cry "Cou'd I raise the *Pity* and *Confidence* of some *good Being* to indulge me with a *small Sum* to get my Things (I mean *the comforts of life*) *about me*, and *convey me to Ireland* . . ."[3] is clear and to the point. Pratt had heard of the kind heart of the great moralist, and in the depths of despair wrote his long fervent plea for help. We now have proof that Johnson did not neglect the appeal of the harassed sentimentalist, for the first of the newly found letters gives us evidence of the happy ending of the affair. The letter is addressed to Dr. Johnson, No. 7 Johnson's Court, Fleet Street.

Sir,

I am sure your benevolence will give you happiness, when you are inform'd that after many struggles with persecution, pain & poverty

[1] Vol. ii, No. 44, in 1788 edition. No. 615, vol. ii, p. 91 (Hill).

[2] *Bulletin of J.R.L.*, vol. 16, No. 1, Jan. 1932. (Mr. Wright in his article did not include the 110 letters written by Mrs. Thrale to Johnson.)

[3] Ibid., p. 52.

I am at last married to a very deserving young Lady of sufficient circumstances & qualities to insure conjugal comfort.

I hope you will permit me to return you at the earliest & most convenient opportunity, those favors that were some time since of particular service. Gratitude Sr. is my warmest principle & I feel, while I express, its deepest sentiments. I own my Heart is in a petition I have scarcely the Confidence to prefer. But you are the Author of the Rambler, and an Observation I recollect there gives me the boldness to wish I might possess the Treasures of your Esteem & Correspondence. I shall be the better & wiser for them as long as I live, & you will not deny a young man that loves Virtue & Knowledge such advantages of Improvement.

A line from you on the present occasion will be a matter of the greatest Indulgence.

I am Sr.
your
Most respectful & obed : Servt.
Saml : Jackson Pratt.

Highgate,
August 16, 1769.

PS.
You will please Sr. to direct to me at Mr. Ward's Gardner in Highgate.

Pratt later became a voluminous writer, and an epitaph written by him was chosen in preference to one by Burke to be engraved on the monument to Garrick in Westminster Abbey. His marriage to the " deserving young Lady," it is sad to relate, was not the success the young man of nineteen expected it to be. Unfortunately, later accounts relate that Pratt's wife became separated from her husband, " for whom, however, she had retained feelings of ' cordial and confidential amity ' ".[1] The advice and monetary help of the author of the *Rambler* was not enough to insure lasting conjugal happiness.

In the spring of 1775 Dr. Johnson and the Thrales were exerting their influence on behalf of a Mr. Carter, a poor riding master in Southwark, of good birth but adverse fortune. Some years before, Oxford University had been presented with a bequest from the family of Lord Clarendon in order to establish a riding school in Oxford,[2] and during Johnson's sojourn in Oxford in March and June, 1775, he did all in his power to further

[1] *D.N.B.*, vol. xvi, pp. 295-298. Also see J. D. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 52, n.

[2] See L. F. Powell's edition of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, vol. ii, Appendix B, pp. 527, 528 for details of the Clarendon bequest.

the scheme for starting the riding school at the University, with Carter in charge.[1] The second of the new letters to Johnson is connected with this effort. Written by William Scott, his good friend and eventually his executor, it shows the zeal with which Johnson had been pushing poor Carter's case. The letter is undated and has no address.

My dear Sir

I have obeyed your Commands respecting Mr Carter as far as it has been in my Power to do so. He will himself give you a more particular Account of what passed here. You might do Him considerable Service by writing a Letter of Recommendation to Ben. Wheeler. Your own College would, I dare say, attend greatly to any Hint that you might drop in his Behalf. The main Business will be to sett Him off handsomely at first ; as I have no doubt that He will sufficiently recommend Himself after he has been once properly introduced and established. You will excuse my suggesting these Methods, which I hope will be found effectual, of serving a Person whose Interest you seem to have so much at Heart. Believe me to be, Dear Sir, with sincere Respect

Your affectionate Friend & Servt.
Wm. Scott.

Wednesd. Even.

Nothing came of the proposal to start an Oxford riding academy at this time, for it was found that the funds available were insufficient. Actually it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that the Clarendon bequest was finally used, and then it was to build a scientific laboratory. Thus Johnson's failure to get Carter appointed riding master to the University in the end resulted in the advancement of science.

The third of the letters to Johnson is from his first cousin Phoebe Herne.[2] Before her marriage she had been Phoebe Harrison, her mother being a sister of Sarah Ford, the wife of Michael Johnson. She was approximately the same age as her illustrious cousin, for she was baptised only a short time later

[1] For Johnson's efforts to get Carter appointed Master of Horsemanship at Oxford, see his letters to the Thrales from Feb. to Aug. 1775 (*Johnson's Letters* (Hill), Nos. 379, 383, 386, 395, 399, 400, 401, 402, 405, 410, 419, 427, etc.).

[2] For a full account of the Harrisons and of all that is known of the Herne family see A. L. Reade, *The Reades of Blackwood Hill*, privately printed, 1906, pp. 179-181 ; and by the same author, *Johnsonian Gleanings*, i, p. 10 ; ii, p. 52 ; iii, p. 59, etc.

in Lichfield, on 8th November, 1709. We know little about her later life, but by 1747 she was married to Benjamin Herne of Banwell, at which time she is mentioned with her two daughters, Elizabeth and Phoebe, in the will of her brother, the Rev. Cornelius Harrison. Her later life is shrouded in darkness, as is that of her youngest daughter, Phoebe. Her eldest daughter, Elizabeth, had a more tragic history, well known to all Johnsonians.[1] It is certain that the great lexicographer contributed to the support of Elizabeth Herne for many years. All the evidence points to the fact that she was insane, and Johnson, with his great sympathy for mental disorders, had her admitted to Bethlem Hospital in 1766. A year later she was discharged as incurable, and according to Hawkins she was then placed in a mad-house at Bethnal Green. Her expenses in this position were paid by Johnson and a friend, Mrs. Prowse of Somersetshire. Letters from Johnson to her daughter, Miss Prowse, through the early 1780's give us an insight into the financial arrangements by which he insured the continual care of the "unhappy girl." In an arrangement with this lady, later Mrs. Rogers, Johnson left a sum of money in his will to continue as long as necessary the support of his unfortunate lunatic cousin.[2]

Elizabeth is not mentioned in the letter from her mother, but it cannot be doubted that memories of the unhappy girl were in the mind of both writer and reader of the letter. The affectionate tone throughout bears witness to a long life of active friendship and confident faith in future sympathy. Addressed to Johnson's Court it shows that Mrs. Herne was not aware of her cousin's move to Bolt Court the year before. The letter is postmarked 18th June from Wells:

> Dear Sir
>
> I hope this will find you in a better state of Health, than you was in, when I had the favour of a Letter from you last; it would give me great satisfaction, to hear more frequently from you, my best Friend;

[1] Powell, L. F., Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, vol. iv, Appendix F, p. 441. For Johnson's will see vol. iv, p. 402.

[2] In the discussion of Dr. Johnson's family and friends I am indebted for personal suggestions and aid to Mr. A. L. Reade of Liverpool, and to Dr. L. F. Powell of Oxford.

whenever I see your name upon the papers, it gives me pleasure ; for then I am assured, you are in the land of the living ; were God grant, you may continue, till I have paid the debt to nature ; which by the irrevocable decree of Heaven ; must first or last be paid by all.

Since you heard from me, I have been oblig'd to leave my House, were I had lived for 26 years, and was in hopes, I should have ended my days in it, in peace and quietness ; but my old Landlord, is deceased, and the person whos property it is now ; thought fit, to lett it to another without giving any notice of it ; which I think was very ill treatment, had I chose to have contended the matter with them ; they might have found some difficulty to have got me out, but I thought it was better, to quit the premises, than to expose my self to insult. I am pretty well reconciled, to my new habitation, but I caught a violent cold at my first coming into it, for it was void for three or four years, consequently the Walls was very damp, and cold, which rendered it disagreeable, and unhealthy, I thank God I am got pretty well, but a letter from you would make me better, and Oblige dear Sir

your Affectionate
Humble Servant
Phebe Herne.

June 16, 1777.

The benevolent spirit of Dr. Johnson is not without its parallel in that of his hostess at Streatham. One side of the character of Mrs. Thrale-Piozzi which has frequently been overlooked in the general concentration on her sensational second marriage, is her active generosity. She seems to have been constantly engaged in furthering the prospects of some unfortunate boy or girl of her acquaintance, often with Johnson's assistance. Her continued solicitations of friends and even mere acquaintances for aid in her charitable schemes became such a nuisance that Thrale himself was annoyed. In an unpublished letter to Johnson in the Rylands collection, which begins "Here is a private letter to you unknown to my Husband," Thrale's attitude towards her schemes is reflected. She continued: "Mr. Thrale knows I am always tormenting my friends about this time of year—for they present only at Easter—so I dare not say a word to him about it. . . ." [1] Thrale was too busy to be bothered,

[1] *J.R.L.*, Eng. MS. 539-34. In this letter Mrs. Thrale was referring to her attempt to secure a non-freeman's presentation to a city charity school for the son of a family nurse.

but that did not keep his active wife from continuing her benefactions.

The present collection contains a number of answers to Mrs. Thrale from prominent men whom she had solicited in her various philanthropic attempts. There is, for instance, a note from the Duke of Leeds replying, 4th January, 1775, to her appeal for aid in getting the son of Carter, the riding master, into Christ's Hospital, the famous Blue Coat School. Again in November, 1780, letters were received from Lord Sandwich and C. Jenkinson (later Lord Liverpool) in regard to her attempt to secure a commission in the Marines for an unnamed young man. Johnson may have been associated in these attempts, but it was her busy pen and untiring energy which carried them to completion.

Because her husband was a member of Parliament, election affairs occupied much of the time and thought of the Thrales. Among the letters saved, having to do with this serious problem, are notes from political figures such as Lord North, Lord Westcote, and Bamber Gascoyne.

Literary interest focuses on the letters from well-known members of the Johnson circle : three are from Arthur Murphy, Johnson's " dear Mur," the witty and excitable Irish playwright ; one is from Mr. and Mrs. Garrick, declining an invitation and thanking the Thrales for the welcome present of some chickens ; another is a highly complimentary letter from Edmund Burke in regard to the sale of the Brewery, and offering his help if he can be of any service ; also there is a letter of family news from Baretti written to Mrs. Thrale while on the Welsh tour in 1774. Minor characters of the group are also represented : W. W. Pepys, his brother Sir Lucas Pepys, the Bishop of Peterborough, Lord Clinton, Richard Musgrave, and Sir Philip Jennings Clerke among others.

Included is a letter seemingly from Lady Mary Hales, in 1782, solicitous for the health of Dr. Johnson, and another from the Quaker David Barclay presenting the Thrale Trustees with a copy of his grandfather's religious work, the *Apology for the Quakers*. Barclay amusingly adds :

> Pray assure Thy venerable Friend Doctor Johnson that I have not the most distant view of converting Thee, or Him to the Principles wch. I profess.

The thought of the venerable " Hercules of Torryism " considered as a subject for Quaker proselytizing is highly amusing.

A letter from William Seward, the anecdotist, included in the present collection, is also very entertaining. Seward fancied himself something of a humorist, and a little of what Fanny Burney called his drollery and archness flashes through this note. Although undated, it is addressed to Mrs. Thrale at Streatham, so must have been written before October, 1782, when the house was let to Lord Shelburne, and certainly is after the death of Thrale on 4th April, 1781. Apparently the note was written either in the fall of 1781 when Johnson was in Lichfield and Ashbourne, or even more likely in June, 1782, when he was in Oxford. It reads as follows :

Dr Madam

Were the Queen of Sheba herself to be with you this week, I cannot promise to come, being engag'd in some family affairs, not very amusing indeed—

As you say nothing to the contrary, I hope you are well, I heard the other day at the Burney's that you were better, but would rather hear it from yourself—

The whole world here say, you & Johnson have quarrell'd about a sugar dish, pray put an affidavit in the Morning Herald to certify to all whom it may concern that you have not, I get no credit to my assertions that you are as well together, as you have ever been, or when he returns, get you both into an open chaise, & drive thro' Broad Street Cheapside, & Oxford Road, smiling & looking kind at each other—

I am glad you have not quarreled however with me for not having been to see [?] [1] so long a time, I have lately taken up with a foolish business, but am & ever shall be

Dr Madam
Your most faithful Svt.
W. Seward.

It is a pity that no more details of the supposed quarrel over the sugar dish have come down to us, but the letter is sufficient to show that strained relations already existed, and to serve as a sample of the gossip which circulated freely about the Blue-stocking circle.

[1] This is difficult to decipher. What appears to be a capital H may possibly obscure something else underneath.

Mrs. Thrale's marriage to Piozzi brought to an end her intimate connection with what we term the Johnson circle. She gradually moved from one existence to another. New names and new faces make their appearance in her correspondence. Murphy and the Pepys brothers still remain, but her more regular correspondents now become Samuel Lysons and his brother Daniel, the well known antiquaries, Dr. Lort, Leonard Chappelow, one time librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge, the Siddons family, Helen Maria Williams, the Ladies of Llangollen, Thomas Pennant the naturalist, Merry, Parsons and Greatheed, the Della Cruscans, and a host of other Regency worthies. But though she had lost personal touch with many of her old Streatham friends, her interest in hearing news of them was as strong as ever.

With one of the old circle her jealous contention now became intensified. Throughout the late 1780's her rivalry with Boswell was, next to her passion for Piozzi, one of the strongest influences in her life. Among the new letters are several which throw additional light on the skirmishes of the two rival biographers.

During the period when Mrs. Piozzi was in Italy her chief sources of information were young Samuel Lysons and Dr. Lort. They wrote to her of each new publication, and also acted as her intermediaries in seeking additional Johnsonian anecdotes and letters in England. A specimen from Lysons's pen may be quoted as typical. He wrote to her at Florence from London, 4th July, 1785:

. . . . .

Sir Joseph Banks introduced me to Mr. Barnard, who has shewn me the letter which Dr. Johnson wrote to him the day before he left England when going to Italy—but he appears very unwilling to have it brought forward in any way—he says that if he thought it could be interesting to the publick he would give you a copy, but that the observations are quite common place, and by no means in the Doctor's best style, it is very long and consists of remarks on the early printers, of the books most likely to be found in particular countries, what might be most proper for a Royal Collection and concluding with some good Advice—I must own I did not think the language of it so good as he usually wrote—Mr. Barnard told me that I might see any Book in the King's library at any time.

They are raising a Subscription here for a monument for Dr. Johnson,

the Members of the literary Club who first began it, Men of the first Rank and fortune subscribed only two Guineas each, which has prevented others from doing any thing more handsome; and, I believe only forty Guineas are yet raised in two or three months, Sir Joseph Banks told me t'other day that he wished you would apply a part of the profits of your Book to this purpose and specify it in the advertisement, & that it must produce a very good effect—I have mentioned it to no one, but thought it right to let you know what was said—he added that he thot. you wod. de well to have it handsomely printed, but I believe he meant without employing a Bookseller, which must be attended with a great deal of trouble and I shod. think Mr. Cadell would take care to get it handsomely done—I agree with him in thinking that if possible it should be brought out soon—Dr. Lort says that it might not be amiss to publish one or two volumes first; but that I think is rather a slovenly way, & if it cod. be avoided, better not.

I saw Boswell lately at Banks's for the first time and cannot say, that I saw any thing very engaging in his manner—He said that Mr. Hector told him that when Johnson was translating Le Bo's Abyssinia which was the first work he engaged in, he lay in bed and was too lazy to write, but dictated to Hector who was then his Amanuensis—. . .

Mrs. Piozzi was busy writing her *Anecdotes* at this time and immediately incorporated the story about Johnson's early laziness.[1] The anecdote may not have been new to her, but she could not fail to have been pleased at the opportunity to publish at once one bit of the fruit of Boswell's researches. We can easily imagine the latter's annoyance when he later read the passage.

Lysons's letter contains much of interest. The letter from Johnson to Barnard, the king's librarian, was a plum that both rival biographers failed to secure.[2] Boswell tried his best to gain permission to publish it in his great *Life*, but had no more success than Mrs. Piozzi and her agents. Barnard's reluctance could not be overcome.

One of the stock criticisms which have been levelled at Mrs. Piozzi has been her niggardly contribution to the fund for Johnson's monument, yet it is easy to understand why she did not give more when we consider that the matter was first broached to her in this way. She would hardly have felt inclined to give more than the members of the famous Club.[3]

[1] Piozzi, H. L., *Anecdotes, etc.* (Hill's edition), *Johnsonian Misc.*, vol. i, p. 178.

[2] Boswell, *Life of Johnson* (Powell's edition), vol. ii, p. 33. The letter may be found in *Johnson's Letters* (Hill, No. 206). [3] Ibid., vol. iv, Appendix I., p. 464.

The new papers provide evidence of another incident in the hostilities between "Bozzy and Piozzi." In this case Mrs. Piozzi got the better of her Scottish rival and secured what might be termed a "scoop." Though not a major conflict this was one instance where the Lady outmanœuvred the usually successful Boswell.

When Mrs. Piozzi, in 1787, began to arrange for the publication of her letters from Dr. Johnson, she found that she had hardly enough copy to fill two octavo volumes. She had, to be sure, a long series of letters from Johnson, but many of these were of little literary interest, being largely concerned with his own health and the Thrale's business affairs. Samuel Lysons, who aided her in arranging the publication, felt that it would be a mistake to print these notes, and urged her to find other material to fill up the volumes. Boswell had already been zealously searching the country for letters from the great Cham of Literature, but Mrs. Piozzi felt she might possibly find some which he had missed. Accordingly, with her husband and her youngest daughter Cecilia, she set out on a tour through central and northern England during the summer of 1787.

Late in August they arrived in Lichfield where Mrs. Piozzi interviewed many of Johnson's old friends and acquaintances. Boswell had long before secured copies of many letters in Lichfield, but some were still to be culled, and Anna Seward, who had at that time no love for the distant Scot, was delighted to aid a sister author. A number of Miss Seward's letters to Mrs. Piozzi were already in the John Rylands' collection, but the first of the series is in the most recent acquisition. This letter, dated Friday, 24th August, 1787, expresses her pleasure in having shortly before made the acquaintance of Mrs. Piozzi whom she had so long admired.[1] Most of the letter is given up to critical pronouncements on various passages in Johnson's works, and also includes a translation of one of his Latin odes, taken from the *Gentleman's Magazine*. But more to Mrs. Piozzi's purpose,

[1] This and following letters in August and September indicate that Anna Seward's letters to Dr. Whalley and Wm. Hayley, dated 6th Oct., 1787, in the 1811 edition of her correspondence, are misplaced. Possibly they were originally 6th Sept., which would make the references to the Piozzis more easily understood.

Miss Seward promised to apply to Sir Brooke Boothby for copies of the letters written in 1755 and 1756 by Johnson to his sister, Miss Hill Boothby.[1] Boswell had obtained the promise of these letters a short time before, but probably as yet had not secured his copies. Here was a splendid opportunity to get ahead of her rival, and Mrs. Piozzi gladly welcomed Miss Seward's offer.

The Piozzi's seem to have left Lichfield on the 24th, passing through Ashbourne on their way to Buxton and Wales. At Ashbourne she called at the Mansion on Johnson's old friend Dr. Taylor, and found to her surprise that the Boothby letters had been deposited with him. Here, too, she saw other papers written by Dr. Johnson, but Dr. Taylor was in no mood to part with any of his manuscripts. Mrs. Piozzi was forced to leave Lichfield and Ashbourne with only promises, and nothing definite in hand.

Anna Seward, however, proved an able ally, and through September and October her letters to Mrs. Piozzi tell of her efforts to secure permission to copy the Boothby correspondence. Sir Brooke Boothby had qualms, and insisted that his son should also give his permission before anything was done. Miss Seward wrote immediately to the son in Paris, but the posts were slow and the answer was a long time on the way. A further difficulty arose from the fact that the Boothbys and Dr. Taylor had recently quarrelled over a local matter and were not on speaking terms. Finally the permission arrived from Paris, and Dr. Taylor with great reluctance agreed to send the letters to London. His accompanying note to Mrs. Piozzi, evidently dictated, yet with his signature, is in the recent find. It is probably characteristic of the choleric clergyman.

> My dear Madam/
>
> I have sent you at Miss Sewards Request, by Mr. Boothby's Direction, Dr. Johnson's Letters to Miss Hill Boothby. Dr. Johnson's Mental Powers and extreme good Heart, all men well know, and his Enemies acknowledge; but I shall be greatly grieved to see the ridiculous Vanities and fulsome Weakness's which he always betray'd in his conversation and Address with his amiable female friends, exposed; and I cannot forbear

[1] Six of Johnson's letters to Miss Boothby, who died in 1756, survive. See pp. 45-64, vol. i, *Johnson's Letters* (Hill).

to entreat you to change your Resolution about printing these Letters. I am dear Madam, with the greatest esteem,

Your most obliged, and most obedient humble Servant,
John Taylor,
Ashbourne Octr. 13, 1787.

The Boothby letters were thus obtained for Mrs. Piozzi's forthcoming edition, and she probably gave little thought to Dr. Taylor's plea for their suppression.[1] In addition Mr. Brooke Boothby sent from Paris an epitaph on his Aunt, and various anecdotes about her. He wrote that he had attempted to get Dr. Johnson to write the epitaph, but having no success had been forced to write one himself which he is afraid is " trite and unharmonious " but preferable to neglect.

While in Lichfield Mrs. Piozzi had tried to see other of Dr. Johnson's old friends. Mrs. Cobb and her niece, Miss Mary Adey, she had met in 1774, when in Lichfield with Johnson. Unfortunately the two ladies were away from Lichfield in August, 1787, but Mrs. Piozzi sent her request for information to the absent ladies, possibly through Colonel Barry. When back in London in October she received a long letter from Miss Adey, full of recollections and gossip about Lichfield people, and enclosing a copy of Johnson's letter to her cousin Joseph Simpson. Miss Adey's letter is packed with interest for Johnsonians, providing as it does first-hand information about several individuals connected with Johnson's life about whom we know very little. She wrote to Mrs. Piozzi at Hanover Square.

Lichfield Octbr. th: 29 1787

My dear Madam

The Letter you solict [*sic*] My Aunt for, is indeed a very charming one, and breaths that Spirit of true Benevolence and Justice, which ever distinguish'd our Great & Good Friend Doctor Johnson, who's loss I need not tell you *we* sincerely lament.—My Aunt gave a Copy of this Letter about two years since to *Mr. Boswell*, therefore will not refuse it to *you*, but be so kind not to Publish the name of *Simpson*, for as they are our very near Relations, and it casts a reflexion upon my *Uncle* for his unkindness to his

[1] Dr. Taylor sent Johnson's original letters to Mrs. Piozzi. These she seems to have kept in her possession, for a number were sold at Sothebys, 6th Dec., 1904, in a sale of her family papers.

son, we would not wish the *present* Family who reside *here*, and with whom we live upon friendly terms, to know you had *this* Letter from *us*.—My Aunt gave it to Mr. Boswell with the same Injunction. Mrs. Cobb bids me tell you she dearly lov'd Poor Joe Simpson, he was the Companion and Friend of her youth. They used to read the vast volume of the old Romance Cassandra *together*. He was a very Enlivening & pleasant Companion, and very Eminent in his Profession as a Councellor, but he was Imprudent, and his last Marriage was a very dis-graceful one, and seemd to be the effects of a disorder'd Mind, his Intellects I believe were much hurt by drinking, his sorrows were *many* and I suppose he was willing to drown'd Care.—I wonder his Parents were so inveterate at his first choice, as she was a Woman of Character and reputable Friends, and far from being destitute of Fortune, and my Cousin was Insignificant in his Person and lame from his Birth, but his Countenance was sensible—There is a Paper in the beginning of the 3d Volume of the Rambler sign'd *Amicus*. Doctor Johnson told me it was written by Mr. Joseph Simpson and Inserted in the Rambler at Mr. Joe Simpson's request, and Doctor Johnson said he believed the Magdalen Hospital took its rise from it. He was a man of great humanity, and it does him much credit.—

We regretted the not having the Pleasure of seeing you when you was last at Lichfield.—We were upon a visit at Thornton Hall in Buckinghamshire to our Friends and relations *Mr. & Mrs Sheppard*. We remember with *Pleasure* the agreeable Hours we have *formerly* Past with you at our dear Friary from whence we were *banished*.—I verily believe we felt as much as our first Parents when they were expel'd Paradise, not from *Shame*, but *Sorrow*, and we still lament that our *old* Mansion is divested of all its relic's of Antiquity, *all* its Gothic grandure, and has *now* not one Sentiment more about it than a *Modern* fine Lady.—I *fear* our Cathedral will be something in the same way.—Excuse me my Dear Madam for troubling you with these observations. Our Friend Colonel Barry regrets the alteration of the *Friary* as much as my-self, and *we* love him the better *therefore*. he is a much valued and very old Acquaintance of ours.—You must enjoin him to Secrecy that I have sent you this Letter.—

Accept my Aunts Compts, and good wishes, and Believe me dear

Madam

your obliged Friend
and Humble Servt
Mary Adey

When you see Colonel
Barry do us the favor
to present our *Compts*.

My Aunt wou'd have written to you herself, but she is not well, has a Cold and a very bad Cough.—Poor Doctor Johnson was always in fears of *Incommoding* his *Dear* Lucy.—I have heard him often say no Person ever kept

him in so much order as *Lucy*.—I am sure he was *ever* attentive and kind to her, and she has frequently behaved most *ungraciously* to him, but she was a strange woman as her last will testify'd, but this is entre nouns. [sic].

Miss Adey's letter tells us much more than how Mrs. Piozzi secured one more Johnson letter: it provides positive evidence as to the life and character of Johnson's friend, the shadowy Joseph Simpson.[1] The stories of his dissolute later life and disgraceful marriage have been hard to reconcile with the known facts in regard to his wife. Now it becomes evident that he was twice married, and the scandal was produced by his second marriage.

Miss Adey also confirms the recent discovery by Professor D. Nichol Smith of the authorship of the second letter in No. 107 of *The Rambler*. This letter, signed "Amicus," has heretofore been listed as from an "unknown correspondent."[2] Professor Nichol Smith from an examination of Bishop Percy's copy of *The Rambler* was able to identify the author as "Mr. Joseph Simpson, a young Lawyer of Lincoln's Inn."[3] Obviously this is the same letter referred to by Miss Adey, since it concerns the fate of unmarried mothers, their misery and despair, and urges the provision of public care for them. Quite possibly it was an influential factor in focusing attention on this social problem.

In connection with Miss Adey's unflattering description of Lucy Porter, we may recall the characterisation from Anna Seward's acid pen. Writing to Mrs. Piozzi on 14th March, 1788, just after the publication of Dr. Johnson's letters she insisted:

> . . . How different from what she *really* was, will Posterity conceive of Lucy Porter from a sentence in these letters. "Miss Lucy has raised my esteem by many excellencies, very *noble*, & *resplendant*, tho' a little discoloured

[1] See A. L. Reade, *Johnsonian Gleanings*, vol. iii, p. 133; vol. iv, pp. 155-171. For other references to Simpson, see H. L. Piozzi, *Anecdotes, etc.* (Hill's edition), *Johnsonian Misc.*, vol. i, pp. 228, 229; also Boswell, *Life of Johnson* (Powell's edition), vol. i, p. 346, and vol. iii, p. 28, and Boswell, *Private Papers, etc.* (edited by G. Scott and F. Pottle), vol. xi, p. 234.

[2] *Bibliography of Johnson*, W. P. Courtney and D. Nichol Smith, Oxford, 1915, p. 25.

[3] *The Bodleian Quarterly Record*, vol. vii., no. 84, 4th quarter, 1934, p. 509.

by hoary Virginity." How ill do those majestic & brilliant appellations suit her down right honesty, seldom expanding into generosity; her illiterate shrewdness, cherished vulgarism, & mulish obstinacy. . . .[1]

The ladies of Lichfield saw Miss Porter with different eyes than the myopic and generous organs of her step-father.

As the years wear on the letters addressed to Mrs. Piozzi by her many correspondents contain less and less about Dr. Johnson. Johnson is not forgotten, but new interests take his place. The great mass of correspondence in the John Rylands Library is a store-house of information about the Regency period, for Mrs. Piozzi lived secluded in North Wales much of her later years, and welcomed news of the outside world. This her friends delighted in providing, and in so doing committed to paper valuable information regarding the public and private affairs of the seventeen nineties and early eighteen hundreds. A few sample letters may be quoted from the new acquisition to show some of the many topics of the day discussed by her friends in their long, chatty letters.

In 1792 one of the Piozzi's Continental friends, Marquis Trotti, returning from England, spent some time in seething France. To everyone in England the revolutionary changes in progress across the Channel were of paramount interest. Trotti sent his observations to Mrs. Piozzi describing the agitation of the country and the emotions of the people, thus providing an interesting commentary on the dramatic state of France on the eve of the Terror. On 20th July he wrote from Paris :

. . . . . .

I have been travelling through the rich Province of Normandy without the least inconvenience arising from the present state of things : & now in Paris we are very quiet indeed : it is the dead calm which preceeds the storm : every body is really in the expectation of some great National

[1] J.R.L., Eng. MS., 565-5. This original letter is not the same as the version published in the 1811 edition of Anna Seward's letters, vol. ii, p. 42. The letter is here dated 7th March, 1788. From examination of the actual letter and postmark, 7th March cannot be correct. Miss Seward in making copies of her letters for future publication seems to have been singularly inattentive to dates. The actual passage quoted above is not the same in both versions, " mulish obstinacy " having been omitted in the printed copy.

disaster & is strugling himself to save something from the approaching inevitable shipwreck: Money is buried under ground, & its substitute, the *Assignats* are expended as soon as received; no body will have them the last: you see new buildings going on every where, manufactures are in the greatest activity all over France, & it is impossible to have an idea of a more quick circulation in the commerce of a Country . . . .

Again on the 6th of August he tells of the action in the National Assembly.

Mr. Davies brought me your kind letter just this moment: I dress directly in order to take him to the National Assembly: the day will be very interesting, as very likely the fate of M. La Fayette will be decided: That of poor Lewis XVI is put off till the 9th.—a fortnight ago. The great object of the Jacobins was the suspension of the Royal Prerogative; then they began to talk of His destitution, *décheânce* & now they call loudly for His prosecution: You have no idea, Madam, of the black, calumnious report which are intentionally rumoured against the unfortunate Monarch: but all hope is not lost yet: there is some room to believe that the Army will not give his assent to this great Act of injustice—

Another letter in the new material gives us a contemporary view of the most notorious literary scandal of the period, the attempt of William Henry Ireland to impose his *Vortigern* on the public as a newly recovered play of Shakespeare. Previous to this he had produced a number of other forged documents which had deceived not only his own father, but which had been accepted by dilettante scholars of the day. The great Shakespearians, Malone and Steevens, had, indeed, never been fooled, but enough people believed or were curious to ensure a hearing for the play *Vortigern*. On Saturday, 2nd April, 1796, it was produced at Drury Lane with Kemble in the leading part. Daniel Lysons was an interested spectator, and wrote the next day a full account to the distant Mrs. Piozzi.

Putney April 3d 1796.

Dear Madam,

Vortigern was condemned last night not without a hearing; but after a very fair & patient hearing. The crowd exceeded any I ever saw at the Theatre. Nothing could be more dull or more uninteresting than the whole play from beginning to end and had we not been a little enlivend by the absurdity of several expressions and situations which caused repeated

bursts of laughter I think the whole audience must have been asleep long before it was finished—One line particularly occurs to my recollection which will give you a specimen of the Language—

" Too long my Soul has *stuffd* this body up."

Almost the last words which Kemble had to utter were " Lets end this solemn mockery " you may easily imagine how well that applied and how it was received by the audience.—Ireland had placed himself in the most conspicuous part of the house, the centre box, but was not known to the majority of the audience & perhaps it was as well for him. The final doom of the play was deferrd till the attempt to announce it for a second performance when a most decided *veto* was given from the Pit—where the No's appeard to have a most decided majority. Ireland had taken 26 boxes & filld several of them entirely with men—He printed handbills, complaining of Malone's *malevolent* attacks & entreating a candid hearing for the play. These were dispersed at the door & scatterd about the pit. I had a very snug corner in Mrs. Kemble's box out of the tumult. My brother was in the pit, where he got with no small difficulty. Malone's book[1] came out last week—I believe it is decisive with most people. . . .[2]

The wide range of interest contained in this collection requires no further demonstration, extending as it does far beyond the actual Johnsonian circle. Specific mention may be given to the letters from many of Mrs. Piozzi's later friends, among others Thomas Pennant the naturalist, Sir William Clarges the painter, the recluse ladies of Llangollen, Joseph C. Walker, Marianne Francis, niece of Mme. D'Arblay and secretary to Wilberforce, and Charles Este, editor of the *World*. Whatever may be the final verdict regarding the life and literary efforts of Mrs. Thrale-Piozzi, there can be no question of the debt we owe to her for her careful collection and preservation of the great mass of eighteenth century letters and manuscripts, the major part of which are now fortunately available for study in the John Rylands Library.

[1] Edmond Malone, *An Inquiry into the Authenticity of Miscellaneous Papers . . . attributed to Shakespeare, Queen Elizabeth, and Henry Earl of Southampton.* London, 1796.

[2] My thanks are due to Mr. J. M. Osborn of Oxford for constant aid in the preparation of this article.

ASPECTS OF SUMERIAN CIVILISATION DURING THE THIRD DYNASTY OF UR.

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V.—Literature.

ONE of the curiosities of human opinion in the nineteenth century was the assertion that writing was not known before or even during the age of Moses. To-day we know, on overwhelming evidence, that by means of hundreds of signs, expressive of a wealth of human things and actions, men of the ancient Near East were writing grammatically, not only during the life-time of Moses, but at a date as long before Moses as Moses was before Christ.

In this article we are concerned with a short period of that earlier time, say 100 years; the period known as the Third Dynasty of Ur, say *c.* 2300 B.C.; and with a small part of that ancient world; the part called Sumer, situated in the southern valley of the Euphrates and the Tigris, now a portion of modern Iraq.

It was a "literary" age. Thousands of records have been recovered from mounds covering ancient towns. Of these records many have been published, enough to permit us to describe the literary activity of the time.

We need but mention the "elements" of literary production among the Sumerians: their 'books' were of clay; the 'pages' were the obverse and reverse and margins of the clay-piece, shaped and smoothed and lined, looking like a dark-brown biscuit, round, or square, or oblong, and sometimes, even pear-shaped; but in this period, the square and the oblong are the shapes most in use. The "pen" was a reed (*gi dub-ba*, the "pen of the

book ").—The only ' pen ' that has been discovered and that quite recently, is of bone. It is described by Professor Langdon thus : " In the ruins of Western Kish [were found] two polished bone objects ; one is the long sought stylus of the Sumerian and Babylonian scribes, and the other is a tracer for ruling lines on tablets. The stylus was badly worn, but it is still in good condition, and after long practice I was able to discover its rather intricate mechanism. The larger end was employed for making wedges and heads of the cuneiform script in ordinary size. The small end makes the same elements of the script, but more minutely and was evidently used for inserting signs into ordinary signs. . . . Excepting the slanting strokes . . . the cuneiform signs can be made rapidly by simply turning the stylus in the singers. The position of the hand is not changed at all. Its mechanism is much more ingenious than scholars had supposed. In fact all theories regarding the shape and use of the stylus have been completely erroneous. . . . The true stylus is triangular, but two of its sides are broader than the back, and its end is so cut that it has four faces when held properly." [1]

The ' letters ' were signs ; originally of pictures but, in this age, of the words which ' spoke ' the pictures, and even of syllables which compose a word. The reader must be ready for any and all of these uses of the signs on one small ' page.' The writer took ' book and pen ' whilst book was soft and pen was sharp, and impressed the signs into the soft clay which lay to hand by the river-side or even in his backyard. So to speak, the whole ' printing press ' was within reach of any hand that could gather clay or pluck a reed. But it isn't easy to believe that every man possessed the skill necessary to fashion ' signs ' by permutations and combinations of ' wedges,' placed horizontally, vertically, diagonally, with such precision and artistry as to make a cuneiform tablet a wonder to behold. It is instructive to recall that the late Theophilus Pinches, a very skilled copyist of cuneiform tablets, served his apprenticeship to this art by working as a draughtsman !

Now for the next question : what did the Sumerians write about ? Earlier in the third millennium they wrote of wars and

[1] Excavations at Kish, vol. i, pp. 95, 96.

of public works, the building of canals, of temples, of city-walls. But as time went on, the records are concerned almost exclusively with "business," men's labours in fields, on canals; their output and their wages; of man's offerings to the gods of the produce of the land and of the animals of the fields; of men buying and selling, lending and borrowing. And at the time of Ur III, the "books" are exclusively "business" records. The Sumerian Hymns Ancient and Modern, the Lists of Kings, the varieties of religious texts which reveal the philosophy, the spirit of the Sumerians, are not found among the records of the early, middle and early-last Sumerian age of the third millennium. The reason is, apparently, that the Sumerians did not write down such intimate things. It was only later, and not much later, when Sumerian power was passing to others, that the native forms of hymn and ritual were committed to writing, lest they too should perish. They were at once a witness to the past and an instruction and guide to the Semitic heirs of Sumerian culture.

But now there arises another problem, at least for the modern student of this ancient "business" literature. The records which originally lay in towns of ancient Sumer have, in modern times, been scattered over the face of the earth, from Japan to the Pacific coast of North America. Not all have been published. Indeed the writer has reason to believe that as many remain unpublished as published; he has himself a collection of copies of more than a thousand unpublished Ur III tablets, from Lagash, Drehem, Umma and Nippur. The quantity, therefore, of these records is great. More than that, the variety of the contents is also great. Hence the need for some system of classification, to reduce the present chaos into some sort of order. But the problem which, as said above, arises is this: Had the Sumerians themselves any system of classifying the records? And if so, what was the system? what the principle or principles of classification? It will be clear that the answer to these questions will lead us into the secret of Sumerian Book-keeping, or, if you will, into Sumerian Librarianship! We shall here attempt the necessary, but very dull, search into the problem.

We may distinguish three stages in the process of "recording" the traffic of business during the period of Ur III:

The first stage : the simple record of a transaction : the *hic* et *nunc* witness.

E.g. " 6 sheep, 1 kid, dead, the 27th day, from Nalul Urnigingar received, the 4th month, the year after the city Urbilum was destroyed." [1] A day-to-day type, complete with exact date. The matter in the example given, is the receipt of dead animals, but it may be any one of a variety of transactions.

The second stage : the incorporation of two or more such simple records into a multiple record, to cover transactions *of the same kind* over a period of varying length : months, even years. This is the month by month, or year by year, type. A good example of this type is the Sumerian Wage List in the John Rylands Library, published in 1925.[2] The method is clear. First, the list of persons, 162 in number to whom payment is due. Before each name is a sign which records the amount each received, *or* a sign which declares that the person hereafter named died or ran away ; in which circumstance nothing is paid. And so on for nine and a half columns of about thirty-eight lines each column. The essential of this, the greater part of the tablet, is that the names of the recipients and the quantities of barley received by each, are given in detail.

Next comes a gap in the tablet : a short blank. This is followed by two summaries which gather together the whole of the foregoing items. But the principle applied is different, in each summary. Both agree in this, and thereby differ from the main body of the tablet, in that all names of persons are dropped. The persons are counted now as men, women, children, male and female, and are taken in groups according to their function : husbandmen, porters, gardeners, etc. Thus, in first summary : so many men/women/children at so much ; so many men/women/children at so much and so on, the order of arrangement being that the higher paid are listed first and the list goes on to the lowest amount paid. Next, the second summary

[1] *J.R.*, 498.

[2] BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, vol. 9, Jan. 1925.

which is a summary of the first summary : in which all grouping according to functions is dropped ; we read merely : so many men/women/children male and female, at so much, from high to low payments. Finally, winding up the record, occur these last lines :

> " this barley comes to $24^{5}/_{6}$ *gur*, which is the monthly payment from the first to the intercalary month, making 13 months ; this barley amounts to $322^{5}/_{6}$ *gur*. In the town of Babaz ; 3rd year of Bur Sin." The curious may check the little multiplication sum hidden in these last lines, only to find the answer, as usual, correct.
>
> *The third stage :* the classification of the records and packing them into boxes secured by a cord tied round the box, to which was attached a docket or label of contents.
>
> Such boxes are called *pisan*. The full name for them is *gi pisan dub-ba*, reed-boxes, i.e. baskets, of tablets.

The sign for *pisan* has the form of the broad face of a match-box with a line either half-way across the face or a little towards the left edge. Fr. Deimel suggests that the sign is a picture of a box with a lid. But perhaps it is a picture of a box with a cord or the like wound round it. It certainly looks like that.

The three stages set out above do not represent all the work done during the process of record-making. But I think they give the main lines of the work and the matter might well be left there. But a few items of subsidiary work are of interest. For example, the mention of " copies " of tablets ; the " sealing " of records, at once a witness for and against a party to a transaction, made by rolling a seal, cylindrical in shape, over the already inscribed tablet ; but especially interesting are the data revealed by the two following unique tablets :—

> " 1 sheep from Adu, Manba the shepherd has received as revenue, the year when Madazabšali was devastated. If Manba the shepherd takes an oath to this (i.e. that he has received it), this tablet is to be destroyed." [1]

[1] *J.R.* 533 (from Umma) : " *tukumbi Ma-am-ma (!) sib nam erím-bi ù-un-tar, dub-bi zi-ri-dam.*"

" If on the tablet of Ur-Enlil, 10 *gur* of barley are not written, this barley let Ur-Damu add (i.e. to the record). He has sworn by the king's name ; four persons are witnesses to this." [1]

It all sounds very efficient ! Perhaps the second tablet suggests that the " machine " sometimes failed.

The work of recording seems to have been well organised. The scribes had each his special department. So we read of scribe of oxen ; of sheep ; of shepherds ; of garments etc. And for the first two stages of the work, the ordinary scribes would serve. But for the third stage there was another class of expert : the archivist ; the " book-basket " man. The name for his job was the name for the " book-basket," *pisan dub-ba*, of which something was said above. It is his method of " cataloguing " that we have now to observe through the medium of such evidence as has come down to us on contemporary records.

It is years ago now since Allotte de la Füye made the original suggestion that the tablets which began with the formula *pisan-dub-ba* are " veritables etiquettes de classification." Since then evidence has proved the truth of his conjecture. Many such tablets have been discovered and published. Some are contained in the Rylands Collection.[2] But hitherto, unless I err, no attempt has been made to arrange these *pisan dub-ba* tablets in order, to discover how, in point of fact, the archivist classified the mass of tablets with which he had to deal. Such an attempt is made here.

We begin by remarking that each tablet, that is each tablet of the simple sort, records some small detail of day-to-day business, e.g. the import and export of goods, the buying and selling of commodities, the uses of things, e.g. religious use, and the application of law in matters of dispute. The list isn't exhaustive even as a description, but it will serve. In all this traffic, persons are concerned and are duly mentioned in the records. But persons come and go ; whereas the character

[1] Myhrman BE. A. III. 1 : 7 (from Nippur) " *tukumbi šà dub-Ur-^{d}En-líl-lá-ka* 10 *še-gur nu-ub-sar še-bi Ur-^{d} Da-mu-gé íb-su. su-a*," etc.

[2] *J.R.* 340, 390, 411, 524 *to* 529.

of the traffic is permanent. Hence we expect that any summary of the business done will ignore the personal element and note only the essential matter of the records summarised. And this is precisely what we find. Immediately after the phrase *pisan dub-ba*, which warns the reader that the tablet is a mere label or docket, comes *the* tell-tale line, the second line. This describes the essential matter of the tablets contained in the book-basket. It is that line which will be used as the basis of the classification here made of such labels as have come down to us from Ur III.

Class I.—Pertaining to a special department :—

The Depot,[1] e.g. " basket of tablets, the expenditure of the depot from the month of *akiti* to the month of X, first year of Gimil Sin, herein." [2]

Or, thus : " basket of tablets, of the depot ; capital and expenditure of (or under) Ending irmu, from the first to the twelfth month, twelve months, fifth year of Bur Sin. herein." [3]

Class II.—Of Animals :—

Examples : " basket of tablets ; oxen and sheep dead, expenditure of herdsmen ; seal of Naramili ; from the 24th to the 36th year of Šulgi ; 12 years " [4]

and : " basket of tablets ; a ' catch ' of sheep, according to the complete list ; from Girsu to Tigabba ; herein. Bur Sin 7." [5]

Class III.—Of barley :—

(*a*) as " food for sheep in Nippur " ; [6]

(*b*) as payment (*še-ba*) to workers (e.g. weavers, clothiers) [7] ;

[1] *é-tum* = *é-níg-tum* = *bit šutummi* (Legrain TRU. 358 : 11).

[2] *J.R.* 411.

[3] *J.R.* 340 ; cp. also *J.R.* 390 ; Keiser C(un.) B(ullae), 176, 175. (All from Umma).

[4] TRU. 1 (from Drehem).

[5] I(nv.) (T)ablets de (T)elloh IV : 7857 (" *pisan dub-ba, tag-tag-ga-udu gukkal, ka-ka-si-ka, etc.*" ; *tag-tag* = *bâru*). Other animal *pisan-dub-ba* tablets are ITT. II : 3391, 3722 ; III : 4915 ; V : 6781, all from Lagash ; CB. 167, 173 (both from Drehem according to Keiser, but ??).

[6] ITT. III : 6031.

[7] Ib. II : 651 ; also ib. III : 4916 ; Hussey STH. II, 140 (all from Lagash).

A number of tablets have, in second line: "two years payment of grain";[1] "two years grain which the soldiers received";[2] *or* "two years of grain provender (*kur*$_6$)" of military and workmen;[3] *or*, food for military;[4]

(*c*) "grain of the waste-land, of land under cultivation and tillage" (*še giš-è-a gán-gud apin-lal*);[5]

(*d*) reserve-grain (*lal-ni še*);[6]

(*e*) payment of taxes (?)[7].

Class IV.—Of wool:—

as wages (*síg-ba*);[8] two years payment in wool.[9]

Class VI—Of (leather) bags:—

pisan dùb-ba, su-dùg-gan.[10]

Class VI. Offerings to the gods:—

pisan dub-ba, šà-dug$_4$*-dingir-ri-ne*, followed by names of gods.[11]

Class VII. Legal decisions (*di til-la*):—

E.g. "basket of tablets," legal decisions, Lu-Šara, Lu ibgal, Ludingira, Ur-Kadi, judges thereof, herein. Eri-Nannar the great *sukkal* priest, patesi. First year of Gimil Sin."[12]

or, without names of *judges*:

"basket of tablets, legal decisions, Ur-Lama patesi. Year of Šulgi 44."[13]

[1] ITT. III: 5014; Reisner TU. 164$_{(8)}$.
[2] ITT. III: 4911, 6048; Lau OBTR. 5.
[3] TU. 164$_{(5)}$; Hussey II, 99.
[4] Hussey II, 130.
[5] *J.R.* 523; CB. 164, 180 (cp. line R4). All from Umma.
[6] ITT. II: 2653.
[7] Contenau HEU. 65.
[8] ITT. III: 4909; Hussey II, 140.
[9] ITT. IV: 8060.
[10] CB. 165 (from Drehem); ITT. III 4907, IV, 7976 (on these two, *šà-bi rug-ga* occurs immediately after *su dùg-gan*. Cp. *pisan-dub-ba šà-bi rug-ga*, ITT. III, 5494, 6034).
[11] ITT. II: 695; III: 6045; CB 177 ("Drehem"?).
[12] ITT. II: 810, 3401; III: 5629.
[13] ITT. II: 3272, 3354; III: 6588.

Class VIII. Oaths (*li-bi-tar-ri*) ? [1]

Class IX. " Book-keeping " :—

By this I refer to the formulæ used to express book-keeping etiquette : —

(i) " surplus " : (*si-ni-íb*) [2] ;

(ii) " reckoning " (*níg-šid ag*).

Examples : (*a*) made by person named (e.g. " basket of tablets, reckoning of Abbamu) [3] ; " of Nalul . . . 16 years " ; [4]

(*b*) of plough-oxen of the stable (*gud giš apin, ab é-tur*) ; [5]

(*c*) of wages of employees ; of salaries throughout winter, and at harvest [6] (e.g. basket of tablets, reckoning, wages of sea-fishermen) ; [7]

(*d*) various.[8]

Class X. Tablets inspected, or for inspection (*igi-gar ag*) :—

(i) *pisan dub-ba, igi-gar ag*, followed by names of occupations, e.g. " basket of tablets, inspected (concerning) the smith, the scribe of the Record Office, the *ḳalu*-priest, merchant, etc," [9]

or, less specific : " inspected (concerning) employees (nè sig_{10}-ga)" ; [10]

(ii) similar, but to *igi-gar ag* is added *dib-ba*.[11]

Class XI. Records on *special* kinds of tablets :—

(i) on long tablets (dub gíd-da) : [12]

(*a*) E.g. " basket of tablets, long tablets, (of) Lú-Lim-ma-šù the overseer of the weavers, herein ; from the month

[1] ITT. III : 4912 ; cp. CB. 168, line 5 ; Hussey II, 130, line 5.
[2] TU. 164(2).
[3] HEU. 64 ; CB. 166 ; Barton HLC. 113 ; ITT. V : 8215.
[4] TRU. 2.
[5] HEU. 107.
[6] ITT. III : 4906 ; II : 3677 ; III : 6037, 6047.
[7] ITT. III : 4913, 6041.
[8] Cp. ITT. III : 6026 ; IV : 8142 ; CB. 178 ; Langdon *Archives of Drehem*, 60.
[9] Lau OBTR. 162 ; TU : 164(6).
[10] ITT. III : 4910 ; CB. 169, 179 ; Contenau U, 109.
[11] ITT. V : 6981, 6984 ; Hussey II, 125.
[12] *gíd* = *araḳu* ; but Deimel : " *dub gíd-da* = Auszüge."

gá-maš of the 4th year of Gimil Sin to the month dim-ku of the 2nd year of Ibi Sin ; 91 months in which are two intercalary months " ; [1]

(*b*) of payments made to labourers of various kinds ; [2]

(*c*) of barley and seed-grain.[3]

(ii) *dub-dib-ba*, i.e. ? :—

E.g. (*a*) " basket of tablets, dub dib-ba, Urda the headman, herein " ; [4]

(*b*) dub dib-ba šà-ṣi (in envelopes ?) ; [5]

(*c*) dub dib-ba mar-sa (a class of worker), etc.[6]

(iii) *dub ganam-ba ;* [7]

(iv) " chief tablet " (dub-sag).

" basket of tablets, chief tablet of goods (of ?) Ur-Kadi, herein." [8]

Class XII. Miscellaneous :—

(i) " basket of tablets, royal expenditure, and capital ; barley oxen sheep oil wool silver copper and surplus remainder of silver, for one year, herein. 45th year of Šulgi " ; [9]

(ii) " basket of tablets, sealed ; ship loads and barley-seed, of the *pa.al* and *sangu* class ; to Ur-Galalim say : let him give to the 4 dumu dib-ba (a class of field-workers) 1/5 of a royal *gur* of barley each " ; [10]

(iii) income, expenditure, receipt, unspecified ; [11]

(iv) About a dozen others cannot be further classified.[12]

[1] ITT. II : 3699 ; cp. Barton, HLC. 144 ; ITT. IV : 7011 ; Lau OBTR. 100 ; Hussey II, 111, 134 ; (cp. OBTR. 99).

[2] ITT. II : 713.

[3] Amherst, 121 ; ITT. III : 4914, 5573.

[4] J.R. 526 ; CB. 183, 184.

[5] JR. 524. [6] CB. 171.

[7] Contenau *Umma* 108 ; CB. 170.

[8] ITT. III : 4908.

[9] CB. 163.

[10] ITT. IV : 7911.

[11] Dhorme SA. 19 ; *Genouillac* Tr. D. 64, 65 ; JR. 528 ; ITT. V : 6785.

[12] From *Lagash :* ITT. III : 6030 ; V : 6811, 6816, 6937 ; Lau OBTR, 185 ; TU. 164(1), 164(3) 164(4) ; From *Umma :* Cont. *Umma*, 106, 110 ; Schneider An. Or. 7, no. 271 ; J.R. 525, 527, 529 ; from *Drehem :* Delaporte T.D. 9 ; Keiser CB. 172, 174.

We may conclude with a few general observations based on a study of the *pisan dub-ba* material of Ur III. First, the descriptive formulæ of the *pisan dub-ba* tablets are not arbitrary or chosen *ad hoc* ; they are taken wholly from the simple records. Second, the formulæ accurately describe the contents of most types of the simple, normal record. Some types are not represented at all by the *pisan dub-ba* tablets hitherto published. For example, many tablets are records of " fields " (*a-šà*) and their produce ; but not one corresponding *pisan dub-ba* tablet has been found, though one does exist and is known to me ; it is in the Harvard Collection. And what of the abundance of simple records of woods, reeds, metals, minerals ? Third, some types of simple record are represented, to-date, by more *pisan dub-ba* tablets than are others, as the references given under each class-heading shows. Fourth, a table of the years covered by the known *pisan dub-ba* tablets would show that there are many and large periods of time for which we have large quantities of simple records but no *pisan dub-ba* tablets. And lastly, there is a greater variety of *pisan dub-ba* tablets from Lagash than from Umma, and from Umma than from Drehem ; and this fact corresponds to what we know of the comparative quantity and variety of simple records from these sites.

To the evidence set out in the preceding pages the interested student of Sumerian book-keeping can add, if and when more *pisan dub-ba* tablets are published from the same sites or from others which have not yet yielded this important witness to " organised " literature in the great Sumerian age known as Ur III.

GOETHE'S ATTITUDE TO SCIENCE.[1]

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MY excuse for touching on an aspect of Goethe that I am not competent to deal with fully must be this, that in reading slowly through Goethe's works as a literary student I found to my surprise that it was the scientific writings—or, at least, those portions of the scientific writings that were less technical and more within reach of the lay mind—that threw the clearest light on him and made him most intelligible as a creative mind, as a poet.

There is this also to be said in extenuation of my rashness that the side of him which these scientific writings presents is one that English criticism has never really faced. Either Goethe has been considered as a moralist—this was Carlyle's and Matthew Arnold's position—or as a literary figure—this is the prevailing Germanists' position. Save for a chapter in *Goethe and Faust* by Melian Stawell and G. Lowes Dickinson, 1928, and a more recent essay on " Goethe's Phenomenological Method " by Fritz Heinemann in *Philosophy*, January, 1934, there is little in English criticism to direct the reader of Goethe to this approach to him.

Goethe's mind was dominated from first to last—from the time of his emotional awakening in Strassburg at the age of 21 or 22 to his death—by certain beliefs about nature. What he meant by nature is not immediately clear, and to assume that what he meant was what men meant who used the same term earlier or later is to beg the question, if not to queer it altogether. But it will be clear from that early piece of aphoristic prose, " Fragment über die Natur," which appeared in the Tiefurter Journal of 1782

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 11th March, 1936.

or 1783 and which is always ascribed to Goethe, though it is probably Goethe only at second hand, that he meant something deeper and more pervasive than we mean when we look out of the window and see a tree and say: "This is nature" and then at ourselves and say: "This is not." For he says here:

> Nature! We are surrounded by it, enveloped in it—incapable of stepping out of nature, incapable of getting further into it . . . Even what is most unnatural is nature, if you can't see nature everywhere, you never see nature right . . . She is always setting out on the longest of journeys and she is always at her goal . . . It is not I who have spoken here of nature. No, whatever is true and whatever is false, she has said it. The credit for everything is hers and the blame for everything.

This is a little piece of writing—only three pages long—that is not nearly as well known as it ought to be. It may not clear our minds about the problem—Goethe himself said of it afterwards that it merely showed a stage in his development and lacked some of his final thought—but it indicates the depth of the problem and it can serve us, as it probably served Goethe, coming as it did at the beginning of his more reflective years, as a sort of spring-board from which to leap off into the philosophical element. Immature the fragment may be, but it thrusts the mind into a region where poetry, philosophy, science seem to meet and merge—the region that he spent most of his time investigating and that all must investigate with him, if they wish to get hold of him.

Some three years later we find him developing his position in a little "Philosopische Studie" (*Jub. Ausg.* XXXIX. 6)—a bare succession of notes and jottings—in which he—perhaps for the first time—begins to use the terms which he was to go on using for the rest of his days. Spinoza, whom he was dipping into at the time, may have helped him to them. They are simple terms and not new, and others have used them before and since, though none, I suspect, quite in his way or with quite the weight of significance that he was able to give them. For Goethe everything now begins to turn on those two simple terms—the whole and the parts—das Ganze und die Teile.

He begins now to realise that when he sees clearly or deeply into what he calls nature he is seeing something which lives as a

whole and not as a series of parts or as the sum of its parts. It is a simple thought which every one can share and does share, and none the worse for that. If we build a house of cards or bricks it may not be easy to see any deep or helpful significance in the total result that is not conveyed by the single card or the single brick that constitutes the part or by the mere addition of cards and bricks, whereas if we see a flower growing we feel at once that while it is in our power to see the thing in parts—root, stem, leaf, etc.—the whole growing thing affects us in a single and scarcely definable way which the parts taken separately could not do, or, to put it more accurately, could only do if we had seen or anticipated the whole and had the sense of the whole, the living thing, fixed in our minds. Without that sense of the whole, the part or the sum of the parts would be meaningless, misleading, or in the best case inadequate.

Goethe would not have gone the length of saying that the house of cards was not nature. What he could not include he at least refrained from excluding, in the hope, it may be, of including it later ; the line between the organic and the inorganic was a line that he hesitated to draw sharply, as will be apparent in that little discussion he had with his friend Knebel about the significance of frost-leaves on the window-pane. But he would certainly have held that nature was less accessible here and would have turned to the growing plant as to something that enabled him to see nature more truly and deeply and communicated to him that sense of the whole which more and more became the key to all that was of real value to him.

In this spirit he says in the little essay : " In every living thing what we call the parts are so inseparable from the whole that they can only be understood in the whole and we can neither make the parts the measure of the whole nor the whole the measure of the parts." And having thus stated that every living thing has something unmeasurable in it he goes on to say that, however limited it is, as compared with the universe, which includes everything, it partakes of the universe or of the infinite and has something infinite in it. Tennyson, writing at a time when the English mind was willing to learn from Goethe—it has ceased to do so now—put the idea into simple poetry in his lines on the " flower in the crannied wall ".

Goethe too was often content to leave his thoughts in this less explicit and poetic form, but here for once he formulates one of his beliefs—to my mind his fundamental belief—in the clearest way. He says: "When the impression things make on us springs from their complete existence we call it true and when this existence is limited in such a way that we can easily grasp it and when it stands in such a relation to our nature that we enjoy grasping it we call it beautiful".

All this from the little essay of 1784-85. To realise how important this sense of the organic whole was for him we have only to remember those oft-quoted words—seldom rightly understood—about living resolutely in the whole, the good, and the beautiful:

> Uns vom Halben zu entwöhnen
> Und im Ganzen, Guten, Schönen,
> Resolut zu leben,

where it is certain that the word "whole"—the key-word, the word which gives meaning to all the rest—is the very word that most readers and listeners slide over or ignore, whereas for the author himself, who wrote "When the impression things make on us springs from their complete existence"—their wholeness, their Ganzheit—"we call it true," the words must have been strenuous and quite radical in meaning.

Again, think of the words he used to describe the full effect on him of seeing Rome with his eyes—the whole living thing—after seeing it partially, in imagination, in books, in engravings, for years and years. He says: "I can assure you that it is the beginning of a new life when you see with your eyes the whole thing that you know in its parts inside and out. . . . When Pygmalion's Elise, whom he had shaped as he wished and to whom he had given as much truth and reality as the artist can, finally came up to him and said 'Here I am,' (XXVI. 143-4), how different was the living person from the sculptured stone," thinking obviously of the living whole and the less living parts. How more tellingly could he at this crucial moment of his life have voiced his overpowering conviction that the sense of the living whole transcending the parts was more important than anything else. And it is interesting to see how his deepest

thought works through into what seems to be his most trivial thought by looking at that poem "Amor als Landschaftsmaler," written at the time of his visit to Italy, where this Pygmalion theme is used again and serves to connect the frivolous with the profound. From a playful, almost naughty love-poem we can work our way back to his deepest philosophy.

Remember also how his closer acquaintance with Schiller began. This was another of his life's crucial moments. He was older now, getting on for fifty, and for one reason or another he had been holding Schiller at arm's length for many years, chiefly, he tells us, because he felt that they were incompatible in outlook and best kept apart. But there was a scientific society in Jena which Goethe usually attended and on one occasion Schiller attended it too and, more than that, the two chanced to leave the meeting together, Goethe, one suspects, having got up and left early because he had heard too many things he didn't like, and Schiller, one suspects again, having engineered this little encounter by slipping away immediately after him. They began to talk about the meeting and Schiller ventured the opinion that this piecemeal way of treating nature which satisfied the Jena professors seemed very unattractive to the layman—"eine so zerstückelte Art, die Natur zu betrachten". He was referring no doubt to the common condition of science in which scientists then, as now, are content to investigate in their respective fields of geology, botany, and what not, without any controlling point of view or co-ordination with others. This was said after Goethe's own heart and he replied that perhaps even the scientists didn't like it and that there must be some other way of presenting nature, not in isolated parts but as a living active thing, working from the whole to the parts—"nicht gesondert und vereinzelt . . . sondern . . . wirkend und lebendig, aus dem Ganzen in die Teile strebend". This began a discussion which drew Goethe into Schiller's house and kept him there some time. They got into deep waters and did not agree. But here was the beginning of their famous literary friendship—not in a discussion about poetry, but in a discussion about science and the fundamentals of science and Goethe's deep-seated conviction, which Schiller happened to touch on, about the whole and the parts.

Goethe's divergence from the scientific conceptions that prevailed in his day and have, broadly speaking, prevailed since, must be examined in the light of this conviction. Believing as he did that the truth lay solely in the apprehension of nature in its wholeness, he was compelled to reject any findings about nature that were made in disregard of this. The famous example is his quarrel with Newton's theory about the nature of white light. Newton thought, and to the satisfaction of every one except Goethe and a few unorthodox folk like Coleridge and Schopenhauer he proved, that white light was composed of the spectral colours. Goethe objected and devoted years of his life—futile years in the learned opinion—to supporting his objection. First, he argued, how can a theory of nature be right or a truth about nature be sustained on observations so slender and so partial. "The best is and always will be," he writes, "to see a phenomenon of nature, which offers itself to us in different aspects, in its fullness and totality"—"ein Naturphänomen, das uns verschiedene Seiten bietet, in seiner ganzen Totalität zu erkennen". Newton's procedure, he claimed, was indefensible; he used only three experiments in order to bring out a deep and secret property of nature. And in an earlier assay on experimenting—("Der Versuch als Vermittler von Objekt und Subjekt" (XXXIX. 15), he explains himself clearly. He says: "We cannot be careful enough in avoiding hasty inferences from experiments, for at the point where we proceed from an experience to a judgment, from knowledge to the application of knowledge, all our inner enemies lie in wait for us as in a mountain pass: imaginativeness, impatience, jumping to conclusions, self-satisfaction, rigidity of mind, formal thinking, preconceived opinions, taking things easy, frivolity, fickleness, and all the rest—they all lie in ambush and fall equally upon the practical man of affairs and the quiet observer who thinks he is protected from all the passions. As a warning against this danger, which is greater and nearer to us than we realise, I am tempted to make a paradox and affirm that one experiment or several experiments together prove nothing and that nothing is more dangerous than to try to prove any statement directly by experiments and that the greatest of errors have arisen in this way. . . . Every experience we have, every experi-

ment which enables us to repeat the experience, is really an isolated piece of knowledge. . . . In living nature nothing happens except what is connected with the whole and if our xperiences seem isolated to us, and if we are compelled to see our experiments as isolated facts, this does not mean that they are isolated; the question is, how are we to find the connection. . . . Since everything in nature, especially the more general forces and elements, are in constant action and reaction we can say of any phenomenon that it is connected with countless others, just as we can say of a shining point of light that it radiates in every direction. So that if we have made an experiment or an experience we must as carefully as possible examine all that is immediately adjacent to it, all that comes immediately after it. This is more important than anything that can be made to relate to it "—he means, theoretically, arbitrarily. Here again his mind, as always, is running on his sense of the whole. Out of the partial experiment he wishes to make a whole experiment.

Science, so pursued and conducted, would be so different from the science we know that we should almost need a different name for it. It would not be permitted to the physicist to make pronouncements about light and colour without first collaborating with all other observers and scientists who had anything to contribute—chemists, botanists, artists, psychologists, perhaps even mere watchers of sunsets. Experimenting would be so multiplied; inference, discovery, invention so retarded, that our recent century of progress would have been impossible. If Goethe's spirit had prevailed we should scarcely have our wireless, our films, our aeroplanes, etc.; at most we might have a few tentative observations which would have had the merit, if merit it is, of being compatible with Goethe's sense of the whole and the wholeness which we apprehend in the universe about us.

But there is another aspect to consider. This continual reference to the living whole which Goethe bids us make cannot become an instrument in the usual laboratory sense. We cannot make litmus paper or a thermometer of it and mechanically test the validity of things with it. Only in so far as we translate it from physical, empirical terms into mental and spiritual and possess it in the mind as a sort of ideal or human test, almost a

character test, can we make use of it. In this way the personality of the scientist is deeply involved in the scientific practice. For the orthodox scientist this would be to introduce a capricious or subjective element—the very thing that science prides itself on avoiding. For Goethe it had the opposite value. "Man in himself," he says, "using his healthy senses, is the greatest and most accurate physical apparatus possible; it is the great misfortune of modern physics that it has, as it were, separated experiments from man and tried to study nature merely with the help of artificial instruments and even tried to restrict nature's performance in this way,"—a passage which forcibly reminds us of Faust's words about nature refusing to yield up her secrets when we put her on the rack:

> Geheimnisvoll am lichten Tag
> Lässt sich Natur des Schleiers nicht berauben;
> Und was sie deinem Geist nicht offenbaren mag,
> Das zwingst du ihr nicht ab mit Hebeln und mit Schrauben.

Goethe goes to great lengths in stressing the human side of the scientific process, saying in one place that the dilettante has much to contribute to science and elsewhere that a mathematician—of all people—is only perfect in so far as he is a perfect man.

These are extreme statements, but putting the idea behind them into practice, Goethe insists that the sense of the whole and the parts, as he understands it—something that it takes much more than the intellectual man to feel—must always be brought to bear as a personal consideration in all scientific issues. Thus his belief in this ruling idea, which was for him all of a piece with the integrity of his character, led him to reject Newton outright and to insist that white light, the whole light, could not be the product or the sum of its coloured parts, but that it must be primary and fundamental—in accordance with his and perhaps with our instinctive feeling—and the coloured parts merely accidents of it. In thus insisting, his personality, even his religious impulses, his spiritual sense of light and dark, were at stake and he trusted them utterly. And the point for us to-day is not so much that he was wrong as that his notion of scientific proof was one thing and Newton's notion of it another, Newton believing with all orthodox scientists in the objective validity of

manipulations and calculations which a part of ourselves—the part that scientists use in laboratories—conducts with a part or an aspect of the natural world, Goethe believing that this sort of objectivity was a spurious and misleading one and accepting only that other and for him deeper objectivity in which his sense of the whole, which it took all his being, emotional as well as intellectual, to sustain, squared itself somehow with his sense of the whole of nature. His rich experience and his infinitely painstaking observation of colour and light in the outer world made him distrust, instinctively distrust, Newton's conclusions and made him counter them with others that accorded with his own wisdom.

It so happens that this controversy with the Newtonian theory is almost universally held to show Goethe to his least advantage as a scientist. If it had been my purpose to vindicate him before the bar of orthodox scientific theory it would have been more profitable to examine discoveries and hypotheses of his which have met with more approval and assured him a minor but definite place in the history of science. There is, for example, his first notable discovery, that of the intermaxillary bone in the human skeleton which, we read, supplied a disputed link between man and the lower animals; or his theory of the leaf-origin of all plant forms which was also found valuable and suggestive. But it is not here, where he may have been right for others, that the value of his scientific pre-occupations lies. Their value lies in the philosophical point of view, the attitude to science, which he preserved throughout. It is in the Newtonian controversy, where from the enemy's point of view he is most vulnerable, that his attitude comes out clearest and strongest. And it is likely enough that many who approach this optical part of Goethe's writing as a literary curiosity will end by finding that their established notions of scientific demonstration, objectivity, truth will be seriously challenged.

The premises of nineteenth-century science which still dominate the mind of average humanity require a definite philosophy, a definite metaphysic, a definite working hypothesis about reality, obscured by its own matter-of-fact-ness but not less definite for that. Without a working acceptance of the independent

reality of matter and the operation in matter of cause and effect independently of our minds and powers of apprehension the scientist of the nineteenth century would scarcely have been able to move a finger. Yet this working acceptance remains a hypothesis for any philosophical mind and a hypothesis too of doubtful practical value. For if, on the one hand, the ruthless belief in it has given man amazing new resources of a mechanical kind it has also robbed him of his oneness with things, his sense of integration with the common world, so that when he rides in an aeroplane he is compelled to subscribe to one philosophy and when he sees the sun rise he instinctively subscribes to another.

What makes Goethe's point of view so interesting in this chaotic time is that it puts forward and practises a way of science in which, whatever happened or failed to happen, that integration with the universe would have been preserved ; the gap between religion and science, between matter and humanity, would never have occurred. There is no short-cut to what Goethe meant or to what this meant to Goethe, because he lacked the short-cut himself and was content to feel his way from year to year and from decade to decade. Those who study him learn to follow him in this. But there is no dull pursuit about it, as the following random extracts will show :—

" A man only knows himself in so far as he knows the outer world. He only knows the outer world in himself and himself in the outer world. Every new object in the outer world, properly regarded, sets up a new organ in ourselves."

" A phenomenon, an experiment proves nothing. It is a link in a great chain that only holds good in its connection. A man who covered up a pearl necklace and wanted to show his best single pearl and expected us to believe that all the others were like that would not do much business."

" Those theoretical people who are committed to any single direction of outlook have lost their innocence and objects are no longer seen by them in their natural purity."

" Mathematicians are a kind of Frenchmen. If you say anything to them, they translate it into their language and then it is something quite different."

" Aristotle saw nature better than any modern man, but he was too quick with his opinions. You have to deal slowly and casually with nature if you want to get anything out of her."

" The false has this advantage, that you can always chatter about it ; the true must be made use of at once or it isn't there."

" What is the general ? The single case. What is the particular ? A million cases."

" If the eye did not partake of the sun's nature, it could not see the sun. If the divine power were not in us, how should the divine delight us ? "

" Wär nicht das Auge sonnenhaft,
Die Sonne könnt' es nie erblicken.
Läg' nicht in uns des Gottes eigne Kraft,
Wie sollt' uns Göttliches entzücken ? "

These last two extracts take us over from prose to verse, namely at the point where in all Goethe the transition is easiest, from the prose maxims and reflections scattered through his scientific writings to the verse epigrams that poured out of him as he got older and possibly represent the ultimate kind of poetry, the only poetry, that he might have gone on writing if he had lived indefinitely.

But even without this easy inducement the transition would have to be made. It has not always been clear to Goethe's critics that his poetic and his scientific activities were in any intimate relationship. Professor J. G. Robertson was chiefly conscious of an incompatibility and felt that Goethe would have gained as a poet by the neglect of optics and suchlike. But Goethe would scarcely have agreed with this. He seldom peered into the background of his own mind, and left much unsaid about the deepest things. Nowhere to my knowledge has Goethe spoken at length about the relation of poetry and science in his inner mind, but in the second part of *Faust* he develops the idea in a very original way—in the figure of the Homunculus whom he introduces into his Classical adventure. Faust, you will remember, goes to the Classical underworld in search of Helena, who embodies the Greek ideal of life and represents the highest ideal of that life in art and above all in poetry. In this quest he is accompanied not only by his indispensable companion, Mephistopheles, who is not at home here and wonders what it is all about, but also by a synthetic mannikin in a glass bottle whom Professor Wagner, Faust's former pupil, has produced by a process of crystallisation in his laboratory. The homunculus feels that science has done badly by him and that there must be some better way of getting born than this. He consults the early philosopher-scientists—Thales and Anaxagoras—and decides finally to spill himself into the ocean and begin again properly with nature and natural

growth. The ocean-goddess, Galatea, is passing by in a sea-procession; old Proteus, in the form of a dolphin, takes the homunculus on his back and rides him out to her and lets him break his little bottle on her vessel. The poem needs a sympathetic reader at such points; it is easy, with Mephistopheles, to be mystified. Yet much must be clear. The homunculus represents the highest achievement of science, but there is something wrong with him; and in order to correct what is wrong he has to go to the same source in nature as Faust in his search for Helena. Both are seeking the right way of life, the one in terms of a scientific problem, the other in terms of a poetic ideal, and both go to the same place to find it. If Goethe had felt an incompatibility between his scientific and his poetic self he would scarcely have been able to write this original bit of poetry, so playful and so profound.

For Goethe, we see, science and poetry were closely connected, and every now and then in his prose writings we come upon some corroboration of this. Thus he says in one place, " No one would admit that science and poetry were reconcilable. They forgot that science developed out of poetry; they did not consider that in the revolution of time the two might meet again at a higher point, to the advantage of both." This one quotation is enough, but there is another that goes even further, " We are compelled to think of science as an art, if we expect any sort of totality from it."

Here we are back at the notion of the whole and the parts again, but seen this time not from the side of science but from the side of the arts. Art, Goethe implies here, expresses a wholeness of experience; the ideal in his conception of science proves to be an artistic ideal. An ideal, then, of poetry, of Goethe's poetry. And turning to Goethe's poetry it is surprising to discover how peculiarly this ideal fits it.

One cannot read this poetry for long without feeling that it has a psychology of its own, that it works out *one* of the kinds of poetry fully and for the first time. The routine processes of poetry that enable a poet to " command " his poetry seem quickly to have failed him. As a young man in his early twenties he wrote the most popular play of his day—*Götz von Berlichingen*—

and the most popular novel—*Werther ;* and if he had been a poet of the sort we regard as typical he would have taken his cue from one or other of these two successes and written a business-like series of plays or novels. Critics have not been wanting—there are critics even to-day—who see and judge Goethe in such a light and hold that it was in his power to do this, and that if circumstances had been otherwise, if his interests had been less diverse, if he had had a simpler creative purpose, he would have settled down to the profession of poetry and made a different job of it. They point to his jungle of plans, fragments, delays, incompletenesses, and deplore it.

To my mind they are quite wrong and their view of Goethe quite misleading. I think we can satisfy ourselves that the instinct in his poetic mind which made him so slow to finish and kept *Iphigenie* and *Tasso* on the stocks for ten years or so and *Wilhelm Meister* for much longer and *Faust* for nearly six times as long was all of a piece with the slowness to finish which he so strongly urged upon scientists. Indeed, Goethe practically says as much in his note on Dr. Heinroth in 1823, " Bedeutende Fördernis durch ein einziges geistreiches Wort " (XXXIX. 48). Just as he wished the scientist to avoid all intellectual short-cuts to discovery and to wait and watch till the truth forced itself on him from all sides at once, so in poetry he found himself, after his first sudden and spontaneous creations, unwilling—increasingly unwilling—to take imaginative short-cuts or to empty himself of a poem until the fullness of experience drew it from him as if by no choice of his own. It would be excessive to claim that there was this check on his poetry at every turn, but it will probably be agreed that this retarding impulse—present, no doubt, in all genuine poets and in all genuine artists—was stronger in him, more persistent in him, than in any other poet of his magnitude.

The effect of this impulse is obvious—it involves the life of the poet in his poetry. We know of no poet less able than Goethe to make a separation between life and poetry. If he attempted a separation, as he did in his first years in Weimar, it broke down sooner or later, as it did when he ran away to Italy. If he tried to separate poetry from life by planning it and thus determining beforehand what he was to write at some later date he was seldom

able to keep to his plan. The plan stood still, life went on, and changed him and made the plan out of date. The various *Faust* plans show this ; the completed poem is different from them all and the best parts of the later poem seem to have been the least planned, like Act V.

Whether we look at his poetry from the side of the intellect or from the side of the imagination—and both the intellect and the imagination are partial faculties, a department of a man, but not the whole of him—we find him at this apparent disadvantage. Neither Schiller's strongly intellectual way of making poems nor Shakespeare's strongly imaginative way ever became his way. If he relied heavily on either it usually failed him. Yet poems came from him, poems short and long, poems that we rank with the best. But how did they come ? Well, by waiting till the whole of himself was ready to speak. This was the positive value of his retarding impulse, which did not spring from any faith in the mere lapse of time but belonged to his notion of the whole and the parts. It was his strongest poetic impulse and it was continually at war with the other impulses—the impulse to systematise, the impulse to invent, the impulse to get into print. To such a poet the short poem came easiest, in which he could count on stopping as soon as he had said all that he was completely ready to say, and the long poem was a tremendous task. So also was tragedy, which he shrank from, not for want of personal courage—after all it doesn't take a hero to kill a man on paper, imaginatively—but because for such a poet a tragic poem would spell death. He said himself that it would kill him to write a tragedy proper and, when he said that, he knew himself. Yet at this point few have understood him.

How far would such a poet be thwarted by his scientific impulses ? He insisted that one could not be writing poetry all the time and this was certainly true for his kind of poetry, though perhaps not for another. He had to do other things, and while it is true that he could not at one and the same moment work at optics and work at *Faust* it is equally true that in studying science as he studied it he was exploring and clarifying his mind at precisely the point at which it produced poetry. This being so, it is difficult to believe that there was any real antagonism here.

Science may have reduced Goethe's poetry quantitatively—though this is not certain—qualitatively it can only have purified it and kept it near to its highest ideal.

One more point. If Goethe wished to change the way of science, it was because he was concerned with the truth. He wanted to make science an exacter instrument of truth and, as the ruling idea behind his poetry was the same as the ruling idea behind his science, it follows that he wanted to make poetry an exacter instrument of truth also. Here we still lack the necessary criteria. It is not easy to say what we judge poetry by—presumably by a standard that we call poetic without asking ourselves what that means. But if we wish poetry to be an expression and an instrument of the truth, then Goethe, according to his lights, was making the right use of his gifts. And thus his poetry is seen to be scientific poetry in the sense in which his science was poetic science. Science and poetry, far from being incompatible in him, were converging upon each other all the time—two approaches to a single goal. To future generations this may seem immensely more important than it does to ours.

THE HISTORIC CITY IN WESTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE.[1]

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MESOPOTAMIA and Egypt with their connecting link along what Breasted has called the Fertile Crescent, that is the way around the north of the Syrian desert, seem to have been the early homes of the art of cultivating the soil, and there the art may have begun to develop even before the fifth millennium B.C. In this region there developed, further, the application of animal power to cultivation and the use of the plough, as also the art of irrigation. Cultivation thus became more skilled and more remunerative, crops more certain, settlement more permanent, craftsmanship and differentiation of labour more marked, so that exchanges and markets grew. Observation of the heavenly bodies gave a measure of accuracy to the calendar of cultivation and the forecasting of fertilizing seasonal river floods and thus encouraged ideas of the influence of sun, moon and stars on the affairs of man, with a more or less learned priestly tradition interpreting between the spiritual and heavenly powers on the one hand and communities of men on the other, and in course of time developing experience of arbitration and the maintenance of order. Thus grew various items of social expression, the ziggurat or tower of observation with its temple and priestly residences, and near it, under its protection, the market-place supplemented by habitations of traders and craftsmen. Where all these developments occurred together the one-time village grew into a city, and cities in the

[1] An amplification of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on 8th January, 1936.

region under consideration go back far into, if not beyond, the fourth millennium B.C. The city is thus basically a centre of many differentiated activities enriched by the creation within it of items of social expression with a strong flavour of religious ritual. To develop a city, then, there must have been considerable progress in the art of cultivation, the differentiation of labour, the maintenance of learning and order, the laying out and erection of monuments of social expression, a considerable food supply and a supply of varied materials for craftsmen's work and for exchange. A city was therefore not likely to grow easily in the 'new lands' of those early times, and the long delays which occurred in the spread of the idea of the city can therefore be, in a measure, appreciated.

During the first half of the third millennium B.C. there seems to have occurred a wide extension of the distribution of arts accompanying cultivation in regions that may in some cases have already known something of the use of digging stick and hoe, but had not as yet advanced far upon their way to the 'city of God'. What the factors of this spread were it is as yet difficult adequately to discern. The art of cultivation and its accompaniments, including the domestication of animals, were certainly well understood by this time in their early homes and so were in a sense ready to spread. The craftsmen of the cities, already interested in metallurgy, were apparently encouraging prospecting for ores; the minds of men were probably sufficiently freed from repressions of ancient tabus to look for new food-plants; metallurgy had promoted better carpentering and made better boats a possibility. It would be attractive were we able to add to this list of culture-acquisitions that of the general utilization of the horse, but the indisputable evidence for the horse as the helper of man comes later. It may well be, however, that by this time he was already in man's service on the grasslands and plateaux of inner Asia, his ancestral home. Indeed, the evidence of culture-kinship at that time between the steppes of south-east Europe, south Turkestan and China seems to suggest something of the kind.

Cultivation certainly spread with many accompanying arts to India and there developed the Indus civilization, for which

Marshall [1] has described the city of Mohenjo Daro. Conditions on the Indus were sufficiently like those of the older homes of cultivation to make possible an analogous development, for which we must not over-emphasize hypotheses of transplantation at the expense of theories of parallel evolution.

For China we have the pottery described by Arne [2] but, at any rate as yet, no evidence of the city, and in this connection one may remember not only the distance from south-west Asia but also the diversity of conditions. Crops and methods no doubt had to be adapted to Chinese conditions by prolonged effort. Basic ideas such as those of grinding and polishing stone, making flint and other arrowheads and so on spread to America, but Old World crops and domestic animals did not pass the cold north-east of Asia, so man in America combined a hunting-collecting life with something of the higher mentality that seems to have arisen with the development of the arts accompanying cultivation. Whether it was such people who later discovered and learned to cultivate maize in Mexico or whether there were subsequent intrusions from the Old World into the New that led to this discovery is a matter of controversy that does not concern us here. It is sufficient to say that, when cultivation and attendant arts did develop seriously in America, cities appeared there as well, though the plough and animal helpers were not part of men's equipment in Central America and Mexico.

Africa beyond the Sahara was so cut off by the desert which had spread its sterility long ere this that the spread of agriculture would probably have been limited in that direction even had there not been grave difficulties about adaptations of crops and animals. Cultivation remained in the digging-stick-and-hoe stage, and the use of animals for work did not spread in that direction, while even the art of shaping stone by grinding does not seem to have had any very general or varied success in inter-tropical and south Africa, though it did spread to some extent. Africa, south of the Sahara, thus remained long without cities, and owes such few as it now has, apart from recent European constructions, to later localised immigrations from the north.

[1] Marshall, Sir John, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization*, London, 1932.

[2] Arne, T. J., "Painted Stone-Age Pottery from Honan, China," *Palæontologia Sinica*, Ser. D, Vol. I., Fasc. 2, Peking, 1925.

In spreading Europewards in the third millennium B.C. the arts accompanying cultivation met diverse fates along different ways. A peasantry spread into and through Central Europe, facing cold winters, problems of soil-exhaustion and of crop-adaptation, and difficulties connected with widely extended forests. Along this way there developed villages, probably long of a transitory character in many cases, and the hoe seems to have been the cultivators' chief tool.

Near the Ægean shores the spread of cultivation had quicker and larger results. Here were chains of islands that helped navigators and fisherfolk to move without losing sight of land, and the regularity of the northerly Etesian wind in summer was another favourable factor. Hill-sites overlooking a port or roadstead afforded defensible places of settlement, regularity of climate and absence of extreme cold counted for something, the olive, vine and fig-tree were found or brought and gave important supplies, and the spring flowers of the heaths were a source of honey. Here, then, in spite of some difficulties about cattle food in summer, there was scope for the advance of cultivation, as well as for the use of the sea both for food supplies and for trade. The city developed.

On the peninsula south of the Dardanelles, the site of the later Troy (Hissarlik VI of the archæologists) which was destroyed by the Greeks in 1184 B.C., already possessed a settlement that may be called a city (Hissarlik II) about 2700 B.C. The site appears to have gained in importance from the fact that here was an important crossing from the relatively fertile part of Asia Minor into Europe, as well as a peninsula with one flank outside and the other inside the most difficult part of the Dardanelles channel, to come up which, against the current, must have been a troublesome affair for small boats with few oars.

Phylakopi on the island of Melos and Knossos in Crete are other early settlements that rank as cities, and the idea spread to mainland Greece, where Orchomenos has claim to considerable antiquity, and, in any case, daughter cities of the Cretan civilization developed in the second millennium B.C. Of the development of the cities of classical times in the Greek region nothing will be said here beyond the fact that they drew food supplies

from afar and had ships which could make their way up the Dardanelles; and Troy ceased to be of prime importance, while Byzantium began its great history as a gate of the Black Sea as well as a crossing from Europe to Asia.

The fact that the date of the foundation of Rome is given as 753 B.C. and that Etruscan cities were not more than a couple of centuries older, if as much, suggests that the spread of the idea of the city westwards met with great delay and that it grew eventually largely by transplantation from the Ægean. What made the delay as long as 1500-2000 years we may never know; probably a multiplicity of factors operated. Sicily seems to have had a long period of inactivity in the earlier part of the second millennium B.C. We may ask whether Knossos had become interested in other directions, or whether some monopoly kept the westward sea-ways closed to all save a few exploiters, or whether the impoverishment of Spain, probably through a phase of aridity as well as perhaps through exhaustion of its best gold sands and tin sands, made the westward maritime trade in the third millennium decline in the second. In the last century or two of that millennium trade with Sicily and Italy did revive, and, probably helped by the better supply of rain in the last millennium B.C., led on to the growth of cities.

The fact that road engineering, coinage and legal codes became a great feature of classical civilization no doubt helped the idea of the city to spread, especially as mule and other transport now promoted exchange and, at need, the carrying of food which was also undertaken by ships.

The city, the road, the law spread together with the scheme of Roman imperial defence of the frame of the Mediterranean Sea, and it is thus from the work of the Romans that we have to trace many features of the growth of cities in Europe north of the Mediterranean, the theme of this essay. We must, however, realize that already before Roman arms made their historic conquests in western and north-western Europe, echoes from the classical world were reverberating through the west, as the La Tène culture (*ca.* 450 B.C. onwards) shows. Earthworks were being developed and in some cases seem to have become durable settlements of an agglomerated character, tending to-

wards the rank of towns though no doubt very poor as compared with cities of the Mediterranean and of the rivers of the Ancient East. Here were beginnings which might, and did later, in some cases grow into cities, in various ways in different regions.

In the south of France the sunny Mediterranean 'window,' east and west of the Rhone delta, was able to grow the olive, the vine could be cultivated far and wide, a truly Mediterranean life with Greco-Roman roots could and did develop, with cities that acquired the typical monuments expressive of Roman luxury, the forum, the arena, the theatre, the temple, the baths and so on. Nîmes, Arles, Orange, Narbonne, Toulouse are a few of these cities which have persisted, with some of their Roman monuments, to our own day, though no doubt they went through a period of poverty and decline [1] after the Roman Empire had fallen, and the advance of Islam via North Africa to Spain had transformed the Mediterranean from a lake of classical civilization and trade into a frontier, with Italy and Sicily for a time no longer a central arm across the friendly sea but rather a threatened outpost stretching out towards the hostile unknown.

Caesar's commentaries show us how much longer and more severe was the struggle for the mastery of the part of France north of the region mentioned in the last paragraph. Campaigns and armed camps were the basic features in central and northern Gaul. Sometimes, as at Rouen, a Roman camp may have developed on the site of a pre-Roman settlement, but whether this was the case or no the lay-out of the Roman Camp was likely to remain significant for future generations and, in several cases, to form the germ of a city, as at Rouen, Sens, Tours, etc. In other cases, the settlement of pre-Roman peoples contributed more directly and seriously, especially if it were a sacred centre, as in the case of Chartres. The Roman system developed roads, and some towns seem to have grown at road centres, especially where fairs or markets had established themselves. We need to know more about this mode of town development, and Fogg [2] is contributing to this line of enquiry by observing in Morocco the characteristics of the Suq, i.e. the temporary or periodic

[1] Pirenne, H., *Mediæval Cities*, Princeton, 1925.

[2] Fogg, W., "The Suq," *Geography*, Vol. XVII, Pt. 4, Dec., 1932, p. 257.

fair, often near the tomb of a saint, with booths that in some cases become transformed into permanent erections and may form nuclei of towns.

In central and northern France farming had a balance different from that in the south where olive and vine in large fields were characteristic, whereas farther north mixed farming with crops and stock together, and vines only in selected spots, has been and still is the feature. In the south many a landowner would live in the city and go out to his lands at need. Farther north

FIG. 1.—CHARTRES—prehistoric, Roman, and mediæval centre on a hill brow over the Eure, on the once forested edge of the treeless plain of Beauce.

a rural population, living in villages near their fields and stock, would resort to the town for marketing. The civic tradition of the Mediterranean has remained strong in the south and may be contrasted with the rural tradition, the peasant feeling, of the north and centre. Even the bourgeois of the French provinces have remained peasants at heart.

The contrast between south and north has worked itself out in many ways. The areas of the southerly *langue d'oc* and the northerly *langue d'oil*, divided by a transition zone along the north side of the Plateau Central; the *pays de droit écrit* or Roman law in the south and of *pays de droit coutumier* or common law in the

north, with a division line near but not quite the same as that of dialect; the southern *provinces reputées étrangères* for purposes of customs dues, with their boundary rather to the north of the above,—all bring out the persistence of the difference between the south on the one hand, and the centre and north on the other, until the Revolution of 1789. The contrast is evident also in architecture. In the south the Roman tradition made the later Romanesque building a vigorous fashion that hesitated to follow

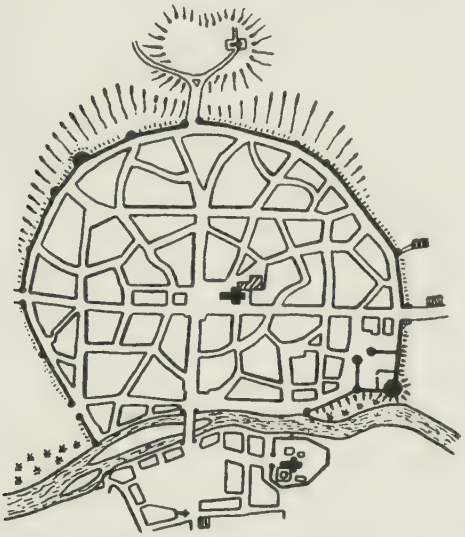

FIG. 2.—A diagram of the typical characters of a city of the Paris basin built on the basis of a Roman camp. Note the central cathedral at the cross-roads, the street within the walls, the castle at the corner, the fair ground and church of S. Gilles across the river, the abbey at the side of the fair ground.

the north in its enthusiasm for the Ogival or Gothic style developed in and around the Ile-de-France with good building stone as one of its contributory assets. Indeed the Gothic is often relatively unsuccessful where it does occur in the south of France, though beautiful details may sometimes redeem to a large extent buildings that, taken as a whole, must be considered poor; and there are naturally cases, especially in parts of what were Anglo-Angevin dominions, of fine Gothic work in south France, usually work under northern influence. House roofs are low pitched or flat in many cases in the south, but clearly gabled in the north, with staircase turrets in the larger old ones.

The cities of central and northern France that go back to Roman times or beyond have, as has been said above, more than one type of origin and development, but in many of them there came to be a bishop, once the Christian religion had been metamorphosed to adapt it to the Roman tradition. Several cities with bishops managed to survive the post-Roman Dark Ages, and consequently, when a revival came in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it was often a revival gathering round the bishop and his church, which became a cathedral and was considered a centre of general social expression as well as a place of worship, with the secular rather than the regular clergy dominant. The cathedral was thus built at the focus of the town, on the market-place at the crossing of the main streets of the one-time Roman Camp in several cases. Few towns of the basins of Seine and Loire have mediæval buildings expressing the corporate life of the bourgeois apart from the church, though these developed impressively in regions farther north and north-east where, on the other hand, the cathedral rarely stands at the original central cross-roads of a one-time Roman Camp.

The main streets of the town, at right angles to one another if the plan of the Roman camp is preserved, will have names such as Grand' Rue, Rue S. Nicolas if in some cases one leads to a river bridge that acts as a break in fluviatile transport, la Charroterie if one is a specially important way in from the country and later on developed the making and mending of carts. Sometimes a way out is deliberately made crooked to increase difficulties of attack ; often a street runs a good way around just within the walls, a tactical military scheme.

The town was the abode of craftsmen and the centre of small industries catering increasingly for the needs of the surrounding rural population which came in on market days. Trades were gathered in streets such as the Rue des Orfèvres, des Chaudronniers, des Tisserands, au Lin, de la Corroierie, de la Clouterie, de la Tonnellerie, etc., sometimes alternatively named from churches or inns or an event or celebrity. A rue aux Juifs is found in many places. Near the river may be a rue de la Tannerie and a rue de la Foulerie. On the outskirts of the town, typically outside the old walls, may be a church that has been

an abbey, often of Benedictine tradition, also an old fair-ground with a church of S. Gilles on the side towards the country. Sometimes, related to these outlying features, one finds a rue des Forges, a rue de la Tuilerie, and so on.

The cases in which a church is a dominant feature of the town are legion, those in which a castle is the main feature are relatively few, though there were rather more formerly : castles have been more apt to disappear than churches of special focal significance, but the early nobility of France north of the Plateau Central seems to have had a predominantly rural rather than an urban tradition.

On the whole the French provincial city has a very characteristic facies, both in its appearance and in its life with bourgeoisie and paysannerie, intimately linked together, and a marked continuity of local life all through the centuries whatever waves of political change may have washed over the country. Small industries supplying a local market, shops that are handed down from one generation to another, markets of local produce are all far more characteristic than in Britain, where multiple shops and universal stores and imported produce play a much larger part nowadays ; but even France is changing.

There are many other points that may be mentioned in connection with the historic city in France. If the city be in the west, where cults gathering around megaliths were important, it may have a hill of S. Catherine overlooking it, or a peaked rock or hilltop may bear the name of S. Michael, probably with a religious construction on it ; these and other features look back to pre-Christian days ; the Christian dedications barely hide old deities. Dedications to S. Martin may often be very early, those to the Holy Trinity may belong to the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, those to our Lady especially to the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. If the city has been an ancient pre-Roman camp, traces of its one-time earthworks may persist, or may have been transformed into more elaborate ramparts in the Middle Ages, and they will then often have been changed once more, this time into boulevards.

The paucity of historic town-halls and guild-halls in French cities makes them contrast strikingly with those of Flanders,

Brabant and Germany. In part it may be traced back to the idea of the cathedral as a synthesis of social expression; in part it is correlated with the fact that from the seventeenth century onwards when the cathedrals were ceasing to represent the general social life, the central national administration gained increased hold over local affairs all over the country. Hotels-de-ville for the most part belong to the modern growth of administration.

Regional capitals like Rouen may have old parliament houses, transformed into courts of justice, as well as town-houses or palaces of the local nobility or of rich citizens like Jacques Coeur at Bourges.

A few comparisons with Britain may be added here. The number of British cities that preserve the main lines of a Roman Camp as basic features is small, Chester being the best known case. The continuity of the city on the same site from Roman times is not often fully proved and there is no case of the persistence of a bishop's seat, so the church did not lead so directly in the redevelopment of town life after the Dark Ages. The cathedrals, in correlation with this, are rarely on the market-place at the central cross-roads; our typical arrangement is to have the cathedral in a Close often separated from the city by a special gateway, and also ours are not so high as the French ones. A long market-place which is at the broadened confluence of two convergent roads is a widespread feature. A Norman motte or castle may be set on the old highway, which has then been made to curve around its bailey, as at Oxford. Proportionately, more cases occur in Britain than in France of a town growing around and under the ægis of a castle, and some, such as Devizes, show the influence of this upon the layout of the streets.

In both France and Britain there are numerous cases of the deliberate founding of towns (bastides) by royalty in the first half of the Middle Ages and these may show a chequer-board pattern of the streets. The Bastide was the subject of a special study by Tout,[1] to whose work reference may be made. Salisbury is a specially remarkable case of an ecclesiastical foundation.

On both sides of the North Sea houses show the so-called

[1] Tout, T. F., *Mediæval Town Planning*, Manchester, 1917.

crow-step or the curvilinear gable fronting on the street or square, a widespread feature of German burgher houses in trading cities. On both sides of the North Sea and the English Channel pan-tiles are widely used for roofing purposes.

In Britain there are differences between east and west due not only to these and other continental influences playing upon the country, but also to the differences between the more corn-growing and the more stock-farming regions with their diversity of traditional background and resources. In Britain, again, the influence of mediæval agricultural development may be seen in the towns, e.g. in Wiltshire and Northamptonshire, or it may be the fifteenth-century growth of the wool trade, e.g. in the Cotswolds, Somerset, the Fen Country, and parts of Norfolk, that has chiefly left its mark on town and village, in churches and houses. Further, the growth of local social life after the spread of root-crops and the Revolution-Settlement of 1688, with power in the hands of the local gentry, is abundantly expressed in the stately eighteenth-century houses which adorn the ways out from many towns and contrast with the picturesque timber-frame buildings chiefly of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries often nearer the town's centre in the Midlands and on the border-land of Wales.

In fishermen's settlements, often enough attached to and yet half separate from a town, are to be found, in both Britain and France, narrow lanes leading out to a beach, sometimes to a gully up which the sea may come a little way from the harbour. Cases are known in which a post at the house-door served for tying up the fishing boat. The separateness of fishing communities in many cases is a notable social feature with a number of causes, among them the value to the fisherman of having a wife ' in the tradition ' trained to take responsibility when he is away, to face anxiety, to prepare and sell the fish.

Towards the northern and north-eastern frontiers of Romance speech, i.e. towards and in Flanders, Brabant, the Rhineland and parts of Burgundy, the historic city is apt to take on other characteristics that are indicative of the power of the mediæval burghers, both as rulers of the city and as members of a craft or commercial group.

The Hotels-de-Ville so well known at S. Quentin, Ypres, Brussels, Louvain, Audenarde, etc., the Beffroi picturesquely exemplified at Beaune in Burgundy, the fine guild halls of the Place Royale at Brussels all illustrate this point and offer a contrast to conditions in the Paris Basin, where king and church overshadowed the bourgeoisie that, beyond its borders, played off one master against another, bought or seized trading privileges and was apt to gain immunity of a kind at the cost of loans to fighting nobles and churchmen. In these cases the major civic centre is apt to belong to the burgesses.

Along the Rhine and Danube the old frontier camp-cities of the Roman Empire are the major feature,—Köln, Bonn, Koblenz, Bingen, Mainz, Worms, Speyer, Strasbourg, Basel, on the Rhine ; Regensburg and Vienna on the Danube. Here there is little break of continuity ; here as in parts of France bishops and archbishops kept alive at least fragments of the Roman heritage across the Dark Ages, and church building was again a great feature of the early mediæval civic revival. On the Rhine, and in the capital cities of Trier and Aachen, west of that river, building in the Romanesque style is at times more elaborate than in Britain or Northern France and owes a good deal to Mediterranean ideas acting across the Alps. Again, there is here less enthusiasm to replace Romanesque by Gothic ; many a Romanesque church persists even if it has a Gothic sister beside it, as so notably at Trier. The Gothic style underwent some changes, especially increase of height of its windows, in its spread to German-speaking lands, but on the Rhine the church is less the social focus and more purely the ecclesiastical centre, and the cathedral is not so often quite centrally placed at the original main cross-roads. The power of the burghers is evidenced in Rathaus and Guildhalls and they have known, on occasion, how to get the better of both ecclesiastics and warriors. The city of traders and craftsmen is a solid fact ; the city fathers have often held and administered the city's common lands, gained the increment of site-values for the city treasury, and directed later growth of the city and even the entry of the railway into it, but many of the so-called embellishments of the Industrial Age are almost as painful in Germany as in Britain. In the Low Countries

and in north Germany and Denmark Gothic architecture had to adapt itself to brick.

It was with the civic revival after the Dark Ages that the Germanic areas east of the Rhine and north of the Danube arose above primitive rural simplicity and the strength of the Rhenish urban tradition has had enormous consequences, for it was through the growth of cities at this time that these areas entered into the fuller life of civilization. The civic idea has thus been in a peculiar degree a power shaping German life.

Some cities were founded largely by missionary ecclesiastics, e.g. Münster, Würzburg, Bamberg, Hildesheim, Halberstadt, Paderborn, Fulda and others, and they characteristically gathered

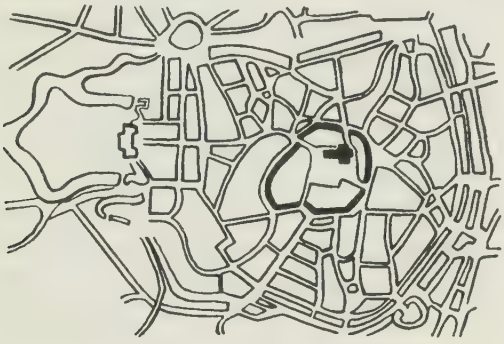

FIG. 3.—MÜNSTER—an ecclesiastical foundation.

around a central church that might be within, or related to, a fortification. It is typical of a number of these cities that they and the country round about them remained loyal to the Catholic Church even through the changes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and they have tended until modern times to be Catholic islands in a Protestant sea. Other cities grew more especially under the domination of a nobleman's castle, though here again there were cases, as at Nürnberg, in which the burghers got the upper hand, and chartered privileges were assured to them. The privileged cities of South Germany were a leading feature of the mediæval Empire.

The physical geography of the country played a considerable part in giving city-evolution in Germany some of its notable

features. In the south the large basins of the upper Danube, the Main and Neckar, favoured the growth of fairly large political units, Bavaria and Württemberg. In the north what was to become the Prussian plain was long kept back by climatic difficulties in agricultural development as well as by struggles between German and Slavonic-speaking peoples and by the diversion of attention and energy to the fisheries and trade of the Baltic Sea. The north was thus for a long time a region of transit rather than a germ of a large local unit ; its towns concerned with struggles between German and Slavonic cultures often have a figure of a lion or one of Roland, the epic champion, on the market-place. Between north and south, between Hannover, Braunschweig and Magdeburg on the one hand, and Frankfürt-a-M. and Würzburg on the other, is the country called by German students the Mittelschwelle, old broken mountain country reshaped in many parts by vulcanicity and everywhere cut into by a secondary set of rivers that have found their way down along fault lines and related structural features. The Mittelschwelle is thus a complex tangle of valleys, whereas, for German unity, it should have been something analogous to the Paris basin focussing on the ancient, and yet perennially vital, metropolis of France.

There were many other factors that hindered the development of German political unity. Here we are concerned only with the fact of the long delay until the nineteenth century when it occurred concurrently with industrial development. With the many small states is correlated the development of ever so many court cities, some, like Mannheim and Karlsruhe, deliberately planned out in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. With declining political ambitions there was diversion of attention of princelings to the arts and especially, in recent centuries, to music and learning. Threads of culture thus wove themselves into a city life that had made the Rathaus its focus of expression in a land in which the city was *ab origine* the accepted sign and symbol of the emergence of men from barbarism. One other factor of city development must be mentioned. The physical geography is such that, given an effort for civilized life in the region, there must be large agglomerations at or near the sites of many of the cities. They are at emergences from valleys of

the hill country or in some other clearly marked relation, Braunschweig, for example, at the practical limit of water traffic. Therefore though many have varied in size and fortune from time to time they have tended to retain importance on a large scale throughout, and in many cases to grow very markedly in modern times. The contrast between them and the large industrial cities of northern England, which were of small account before the eighteenth century, is thus very striking. One must also remember that their modern growth came later than that of most English industrial centres, and by that time the faults of the English towns had become only too evident, but many a

FIG. 4.—NÜRNBERG—Castle city becoming a free city.

mistake was made in Germany too. The German cities often have a Jewish area, and recurrent outbreaks of Anti-semitism have been a weakness that must be set against their more valuable cultural characteristics. The Jewish element has been a valuable contributor to civilization in Germany, where it provided an element of objectivity in communities apt to be totalitarian and thus neurotic.

Church cities and castle cities, cities like Limburg-an-der-Lahn, dominated by church and castle together, cities like Frankfürt-a-M. that seem to have gathered around a market-place—but Frankfürt has traces of Roman life behind it—court cities of the many princelings are among the standard types. Braunschweig,

or Brunswick, with a ninth-century fortress, Dankwarderode, at a river crossing, and a landing-place where goods were transferred from boats to mules or wagons, also had a village near by, now incorporated in the city and known as Altewiek, and other elements such as the Hagen, added a little later. It thus gives the impression of a structure more composite than that of a good many other German cities, though Nürnberg is also clearly made up of an older castle city, in two parts, north of the Pegnitz, and a rather newer one to the south, the north and the south each with

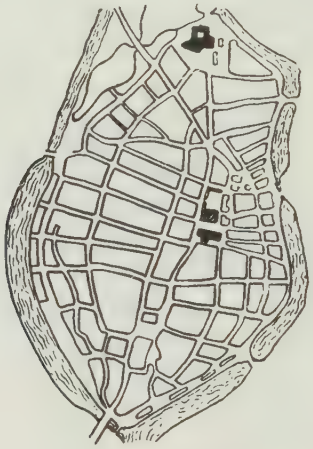

FIG. 5.—LÜBECK—Hanse Town. Cathedral at far end, town hall and town church in centre, water laid out almost all around, double longitudinal street scheme.

its town-church as a central feature. Soest is another composite historic city, made up in this case of distinct village-nuclei that have fused. In the north, on and near the Baltic, the Hanse towns reveal somewhat later, and perhaps more deliberate, efforts. A site at the head of an estuary gives protected water and creates difficulties for attacks from the sea. At the same time, in a lowland, it allows the laying-out of water almost, if not quite, all around the city, an important contribution to defence. A fortress may guard the quays, but it does not indicate the repression of burgher power by the nobility, for here the supremacy of the burghers is very clear. At Lübeck the cathedral is at the far end of the city and the centre is dominated by the Rathaus and the town church. Palaces of merchant princes and

charitable establishments for aged seafarers and sailors' dependants are other features of a Hanse town, and several have two or three parallel main streets running through them. The Hanse town, specially rich in crow-step and other ornamental gables, and laid out with a water girdle, is indeed a characteristic development of north German civic life. Rostock shows very particularly its growth through fusion of distinct nuclei.

Towards the east the spread of the city idea encountered the problem of diversity of speech ; the rural folk east of the Elbe and, still more, east of the Oder used Slavonic languages. They had not developed cities in east-central Europe before the Middle Ages nor was local trade highly developed, as may be understood from the fact that, to this day, the peasantry in many parts still make at home a great deal that, farther west, would be bought by them in the market towns. Scattered over the plain were earthworks serving as refuges in time of need, and, as these were often on specially defensible sites, they were apt to become nuclei of cities when the latter began to develop.

Here again, as in the Germanic area east of the Rhine, it was the development of cities that marked the emergence of the people from barbarism ; here again churchmen and warriors were to the fore in the founding of towns. But this case differed from that of the Germanic lands, because here both churchmen and warriors were apt to be German-speaking while the surrounding people spoke Slavonic. Moreover, by the time cities were growing in Slavonic areas, trade had greatly developed and the trading groups of German speech had become fully self-conscious. The efforts of churchmen and warriors were thus often followed by an effort of merchants to organize a German colonial merchant-city in relation with the church-and-castle-centre that had already developed, often on the site of an ancient earthwork. The Slavonic people drawn into the town were apt to remain somewhat apart from the centre that German influence had founded, and the self-consciousness that was stimulated on both sides is further emphasized in the fact that the Jewish quarter is usually specially separate.

Breslau on the Oder, where its stream is braided and an island in the river offered a valuable site, owes much of its importance

to its position near the old-time language frontier. The island became the ecclesiastical centre and has retained this character with elaborate fortification as well. The chequer-board pattern of the German merchant city, south of the Oder branch that isolates the Cathedral island from it, is still very marked, and here are the Rathaus, the town church (S. Elizabeth), as so often just off the centre, and more fortifications, with later additions to the old city beyond them, again fortified, and then the modern growth beyond. Strictly, however, Breslau hardly illustrates the castle-cathedral unit separate from the merchants' town ; it is rather a separateness of ecclesiastical and commercial elements that occurs here.

Krakow with the Wawel containing the castle and cathedral separate from the merchant city gathering round the great square and the town church, Prague with the Hradčany including castle and cathedral on one side of the river and the merchant town on the other, Poznan and others with analogous features, all, between them, illustrate the points just raised.

The difficulty of a proper degree of unity-in-diversity within the city as well as of understanding between the city and countryside is very apparent in this zone. There may have been German, Slav and Jewish quarters at least in the cities. Sometimes, as at Braşov (Kronstadt) and other cities in Roumania, we find a German city as it were transplanted into a far country, with a native town near by ; sometimes, as at Cluj (Koloszvar, Klausenburg), the German town has been considerably modified by Magyar and Roumanian efforts.

There are in east-central Europe generally marked indications that this is a zone of minorities, a zone in which group-self-consciousness had developed sufficiently, ere such ideas as that of the city arrived, to make understanding between the diverse elements difficult. The modern increase of that group-self-consciousness, connected with the spread of printing and education, and expressing itself politically, has seriously increased difficulties of old standing. The idea of the nation with a unity of culture and language that had had such success on the English plain and in the Paris basin naturally spread eastwards, and in east-central Europe found diversified and often intensely self-

conscious groups clinging to different cultural heritages living side by side, even in different quarters of the same city.

The historic Russian city, best exemplified in Moscow, with the Kremlin, containing cathedrals, palaces and barracks and outlined by fortification and the merchant city near by, may be purely an extension of the idea of the city as developed in east-central Europe. But it may also owe something to the Oriental idea of the Imperial or Forbidden City. The story of city development in Russia is in fact rather a special one and it will not be worked out here. Nor will the matter of the spreading agricultural town of the Hungarian plain be followed up. These and many other lines of thought could be developed to bring out still further the great diversity of the ways in which men have expressed their ideas of civic life in that part of Europe which owes the notion of the city mainly to the spread of Roman culture, whether through the work of imperial Rome itself or through the heritage it left to the Middle Ages.

SOME NOTES ON OCCAM AS A POLITICAL THINKER.[1]

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THERE seems to be no way round Occam. Sooner or later he confronts every worker in later medieval history. In Conciliar studies, for instance, we are frequently told that this or that view "is to be found in Occam," and there the matter is unsatisfactorily left. In this country only very few care to explore the mountain range that seems to lie across the intellectual history of the fourteenth century, profoundly influencing the studies of generations. Because it is so vast, you may be prepared to forgive me if I attempt to indicate one or two of the approaches to this *massif ;* not the normal, though difficult, paths of logic or metaphysics, but some that may have a bearing upon our interests as students of fifteenth-century political thought and doctrine.

You will find an excellent biographical sketch of Occam by Dr. R. L. Poole in the *Dictionary of National Biography ;*[2] but since it was written, it has become more than a little uncertain that he ever went to the University of Paris after taking a B.D. at Oxford, or that he met there Marsilius of Padua. Occam must have been born between 1290 and 1300 ; he seems to have

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 12th February, 1936.

[2] XIV. 802-806 ; for bibliography, cf. Ueberweg-Geyer, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, ii (11th edition, Berlin, 1928). 572-574. Modern accounts are J. Hofer, 'Biographische Studien über Wilhelm von Ockham,' *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, vi. 209-233, 439-465, 654-669, and F. Federhofer, 'Ein beitrag zur Bibliographie und Biographie des Wilhelm von Ockham,' *Philosophisches Jahrbuch*, xxxviii. 26-48.

spent his early university years at Oxford only, where he joined the Franciscans. In later years he was known as *inceptor Oxoniensis*, which means that he had qualified for, but not actually taken, the degree of D.D. The first certain date in his life is 1324, when he was summoned to the Court of Avignon. The cause was alleged heretical statements made in the first book of his *Commentary on the Four Books of the Sentences*, which he had written at Oxford ; the publication of the investigation shows that the charges were purely theological and philological.[1] It was while he stayed at Avignon that he made the acquaintance of Michael of Cesena, then general of the Franciscan Order, and Bonagratia of Bergamo. These two prominent Franciscans were at the Papal Court defending their opinions on the vow of Poverty. Occam was won over to their position, and was excommunicated along with them in 1328, not as the result of his earlier opinions, but for maintaining the views upheld by the general of the Order. The three men escaped from Avignon at the end of May 1328, to seek the protection of Louis of Bavaria, who had broken with John XXII. Marsilius of Padua and John of Jandun had already joined the Emperor. The next eight years saw a great deal of pamphleteering in the imperial cause by the supporters of Lewis of Bavaria. Occam and his friends settled at Munich. After Michael of Cesena's death in 1342 Occam acted as vicar of the Franciscans who did not recognise the authority of Avignon. He seems to have held the seal till 1348, when it was sent to William Farnier, general of the opposing group. This was probably the year before his death.

' I confess openly, and it can be objected against me with truth, that I am withdrawing myself from the obedience of the Church of Avignon, and from the society of the multitude of

[1] Auguste Pelzer, ' Les 51 articles de Guillaume de Occam,' *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, xviii (1922). 250 f. One of the charges against him (p. 252), was that of Pelagianism : he had made the statement, ' Deus potest aliquem existentem in puris naturalibus primo acceptare tanquam dignum vita eterna et sine omni sui demerito reprobare ' ; the committee examining his views fastened on the word *dignus*, which, they said, was erroneous, since it would make a man in his purely natural condition equal to one who is in a state of grace.

friars minor for no other reason than that the said Church of Avignon maintains errors and manifest heresies, pertinaciously approves, defends, and does not cease to commit grave and enormous injuries and acts of injustice against the rights and liberties of the faithful, great and small, laymen and clerks, to the danger of entire Christendom. Many of the said errors, put into writing, have been sent in the form of bulls to different parts of the world, to be inculcated as matters of firm belief into the ears of all Christians.' [1] Occam wrote this in one of the latest of his treatises, the *De imperatorum et pontificum potestate* (1347). For the past nineteen years he had been engaged, when not occupied with logic and metaphysic, in the battle against Avignon ; and now, he says, I am prepared to render account for all I have done, written and said ever since I submitted myself to the rule of St. Francis, ' that all the faithful may see whether anything can be proved against me by reason of which I ought not to be counted among the sons of light.' [2] He had been feeling a certain isolation ; the attacks made upon him by Conrad of Mengenberg, and the official disapproval of the Church (he had been under the ban since 1328) had not left him unscathed. There is a certain defiance, perhaps a certain loneliness, in his tone when he compares himself to Popes Damasus and Leo, or to Athanasius and Jerome who were similarly assailed. ' I shall be more moved by one evident piece of reason or by one passage of scriptural authority, soundly understood, than by the assertion of all the universe of mortals.'

The conviction that the Vicar of Christ, the successor of Peter had incurred the guilt of heresy colours much of Occam's political thought. The point needs emphasis, since there still is a tendency in some quarters to think of the great Franciscan only as an aloof, detached mind, a philosopher of first principles, rather than as a figure deeply involved in the controversies of the age.[3]

[1] R. Scholz, *Unbekannte kirchenpolitische Streitschriften aus der Zeit Ludwigs des Bayern*, p. 454.

[2] Scholz, *op. cit.*, p. 453.

[3] The more correct view was stated by S. Riezler, *Die literarischen Widersacher der Päpste zur Zeit Ludwigs des Baiers*, Leipzig, 1874, still a work of great value for the background of controversy.

The moderation of the *Dialogus* might easily lead one to regard him as a hesitant academic, in strong contrast to the radical Marsilius of Padua. This is how Mr. Sullivan depicted him in a comparison of the two philosophers,[1] and indeed there are sections of the *Dialogus* which might confirm one in this impression. But against this massive work of careful deliberation must be set the controversial treatises printed by Dr. Scholz, who reaches conclusions very different from those of the American scholar. The latter was inclined to see in Marsilius rather than in Occam the thinker that influenced later medieval political thought in a radical direction ; Dr. Scholz, on the other hand, considers that the treatises of Occam did much more than the *Defensor pacis* to change people's views about the nature of the spiritual power and to shake the Papal system at its very foundations. No later reformer is uninfluenced by his ideas.[2] Yet it is perhaps an exaggeration of Occam's controversial proclivities to judge him almost entirely on the *De imperatorum et pontificum potestate*, as Professor McIlwain has done.[3] True, Occam himself speaks of this work as a *compendium*, a shortened version of the *Dialogus ;* but he does not say that his *conclusions* would be found in the larger work ; he merely observes that there the matters would be found discussed with care and elaboration (*exquisite*).[4] We should do well to understand the differences between the tentative, ponderous, composite *Dialogus* and the more hard-hitting, integral and unified *Streitschriften* of the later years, and not to think that either body of work alone is sufficient for a true estimate of Occam's views.

There is one obvious reason why it is so difficult to form a critical judgment of Occam as a ' political thinker,' if these words

[1] J. Sullivan, ' Marsiglio of Padua and William of Ockham,' *American Historical Review*, ii (1896-97), 417-426.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 141.

[3] *The Growth of Political Thought*, pp. 293-297.

[4] ' Sane que in hoc compendio perstringuntur, in aliis operibus, praesertim in quodam dyalogo quem dudum incepi, qui habuerit, discussa inveniet exquisite.' Scholz, *op. cit.*, p. 455. Dr. Scholz therefore speaks of the shorter treatise as summarizing the longer. But does it ? The two deserve an exhaustive comparison. I can only say that in various passages where I have tested them, neither exact, nor even approximate correspondence is invariably found.

can ever be applied to one who was first and foremost a theologian and philosopher: the *Dialogus* is a work of prodigious length, great comprehensiveness, and no little obscurity, and often the discussions seem to leave the reader in the air. This may be partly due to actual mistakes in the printed text, which has still to be read in the edition of Goldast, when a drastic overhauling by means of a new collation is obviously needed; but it is partly deliberate, and I would venture to agree with Riezler [1] as against Dr. Haller that the inconclusiveness cannot be explained away or the text made to mean something that it does not state. I think that we have frankly to face the length, the inconclusiveness and obscurity which have very reasonably daunted scholars, and to try to appreciate the subtleties of the method before we look for conclusions.

For Occam is essentially a scholastic, brought up on Aristotle, Aquinas and Scotus. To most people he represents, in the late Dean Rashdall's words 'the culmination of all scholastic thought.' Mention him to the casual philosopher, and out will come the celebrated 'razor,' which he is thought to have used against an unnecessary multiplication of entities—though in point of fact Richard of Meneville was before him in the desire to avoid them.[2] To most historians of philosophy he is the sceptic who used his powerful dialectic to attack Aristotelian metaphysics and realism in science, a precursor of the modern empirical and experimental point of view. Whether this commonly held opinion is, as Mr. Moody has recently argued, erroneous,[3] or whether sound, it does not for the moment matter; what matters is the fact that in an examination of the foundations of the spiritual power Occam does not proceed by dogmatic definition, as Marsilius did at the beginning of Dictio II of the *Defensor pacis*, nor by mystical analogies, like the theorists of the Investiture controversy, but by an exhaustive balancing and comparison of rival positions: an immense variety of discrepant

[1] *Die literarischen Widersacher*, p. 250.

[2] Cf. D. E. Sharp, *Franciscan Philosophy at Oxford in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 287 n.

[3] *The Logic of William of Ockham* (1935), esp. ch. i, and his all too summary criticism of Michalski's method, p. 2.

views are made to face each other and are subjected to profound and acute criticism; and we might say of the *Dialogus* in relation to medieval politics what Mr. Moody has said of scholasticism in general :—

> Though the language and background of these discussions are not ours—so that we often fail to recognise the philosophical problems with which we are familiar in our modern discussions—once the barrier of language and terminology is crossed, and the translation of problems from one set of terms to the other accomplished, it is hard to find any important philosophical question that was not raised and subjected to thoroughgoing analysis, in the literature of scholasticism.[1].

The *Dialogus* is a discussion between a master and his disciple. Occam may be taken to represent the master, whom the pupil questions on his opinions. Now in the Prologue the disciple is made to ask his teacher not to mention proper names of persons engaged in the controversy under dispute, and, further, not to confine himself to one opinion, but to give several, without revealing to the pupil which is his own. He is to state a *conclusio*, but not to say that it is his; and the reason for these requests is twofold. In the first place the disciple attaches so much weight to his master's views that if he knew that this or that opinion was the one favoured by the teacher he would not be able to decide impartially about it; and secondly, the absence of names will ensure an unprejudiced verdict (*remotis zeli oculis*) upon the views discussed.[2] Throughout the *Dialogus* the disciple puts the *quaestio*, and the master replies; but almost immediately the mere statement of *rationes* for this or that opinion given by the master does not prove satisfying to the disciple, who asks for a *responsio* to each of the *rationes*. To this at first the master objects that he had been asked for a statement of various opinions on the matter discussed rather than for his own views on those opinions;[3] but the disciple gets his way (greatly to the lengthening of the dialogue), and the master consents to indicate his view. He does so, however, with the utmost caution and tentativeness, and his opinion is often submerged in the long sequence of reply and counter-reply. All this caution, one might almost say

[1] Moody, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[2] Dialogus, in Goldast, *Monarchia Sancti Romani Imperii*, ii. 398 (Prologus).

[3] *Dialogus*, I. iii, p. 401.

obfuscation, is therefore deliberate. It is deliberate not merely for the reasons given by the pupil, but because the opponent of Avignon must know what arguments will be developed by the supporters of John XXII and how to meet them in the best academic tradition. For in spite of the academic setting, the *Dialogus* is an amalgam of the ephemeral and the permanent. By 'ephemeral' I do not mean matter that is unimportant, but rather the product of current controversy; and this can be seen from the arrangement of the work.

It was put together gradually. According to the latest calculation, the *Dialogus* proper was begun at the end of 1333 or the beginning of 1334, and the first part was finished before 1334 was out. The third part was begun in 1337 or 1338 and, as far as we can see, was never completed. The present second part was substituted for this uncompleted third section. In content, the main building, so to speak, is concerned almost exclusively with heresy. To whom—theologians or canonists—does it pertain to define which assertions are catholic and which heretical? How are such assertions to be distinguished? By what procedure should persons be convicted of pertinacious and heretical opinion? And how are heretics (the Pope included, if he becomes one) to be punished? How are their followers to be dealt with? From these problems we pass to an examination of the heresies of John XXII, particularly his statement that *the souls of the departed after they have been purged do not see God face to face until the day of Judgment*—the 'heresy' of the beatific vision. The third part of the *Dialogus* is headed *De gestis diversorum Christianorum*, and is divided into nine treatises, each subdivided into books. This is the most controversial part of the work, one that sets forth the powers of the Pope and clergy, and purports to give biographies of John XXII, Lewis of Bavaria, Benedict XII, Michael of Cesena and others, including master William of Occam himself. In actual fact Occam does not get farther than John XXII, for when, after long preliminary considerations upon Pope and Emperor, he reaches the pontiff who is the main target of his attacks, he inserts a lengthy *compendium errorum Papae* and breaks off the *Dialogus* abruptly at this point. There now follows a long section, historically per-

haps the most significant part of the *Dialogus*, though originally it did not form part of it : the *opus nonaginta dierum*, the earliest of Occam's polemical writings, probably composed between 1331 and 1333, which owes its title to the number of days that Occam is supposed to have taken over the writing. This *opus* may have been meant to be included in Part III of the *Dialogus* under the title *De gestis fratris Michaelis de Cesena*. It is an exhaustive attack on the bull *Quia vir reprobus*, John's encyclical of 1329, as well as a defence of the minister general of the Franciscans, who originally had aided the Papacy in crushing the zealots of the Franciscan Order, and later had come to blows with Avignon because he defended a declaration of the chapter general at Perugia on the poverty of Christ. In his attitude here Occam supports the argument used in the letters written by Michael de Cesena from Pisa, enlarging upon the numerous errors detected in the three decretals *Ad conditorem canonum* (1323), *Cum inter nonnullos* (1323), and *Quia quorundam mentes* (1324). Michael de Cesena had argued that the *Cum inter nonnullos* violated the former teaching of the Church about apostolic poverty, since it ruled out any interpretation that did not make Christ and His Apostles the actual owners of property in common. Christ could have possessed no legal rights, since He was in no way subject to the civil law.[1] Like Michael, Occam saw that if it were once admitted that the Pope had the power of altering the enactments of his predecessors, the whole faith of the Church would be shaken, and its foundations would become unstable.

It is important to bear Michael of Cesena in mind, since his challenge to the Papacy raised the question of the legality of John XXII's action, and the relation of the Pope to the law of the Church is the fundamental topic of the *Dialogus*. If there is any need to point out the manifest difference between Occam and Marsilius it could be done over this very point. Marsilius, the totalitarian, has scarcely any conception of the Church as a self-governing body with its own law and jurisdiction reaching beyond the sphere of the *forum internum ;* and it follows that the

[1] On the doctrines of Michael de Cesena, cf. Decima Douie, *The Nature and Effect of the Heresy of the Fraticelli*, pp. 173–6.

Conciliar theory in the *Defensor pacis* is of a very rudimentary order. But Occam in his treatment of the spiritual power is far closer to the Gelasian tradition, or even to Dante's re-statement of it, than his radical colleague. He has a high notion of the spiritual authority. If, like Dante, he is bitterly opposed to the contemporary Canonists, he is as strong a believer as the later Conciliar thinkers in the conception of the Church as a society governed by a law that cannot be arbitrarily varied by an individual pontiff, and as a body whose *ethos* is based upon the primitive tradition of apostolic times. It was his belief in early Church organisation and practice that made him so acceptable to Conciliar statesmen like d'Ailly, who made an abbreviation of passages from the *Dialogus* relevant to the situation at the Council of Constance.[1] Let us also remember that in the thirteenth century the Franciscans were prominent in proclaiming the supremacy of law, binding even upon the monarch, in the secular state: this is one of the main themes of the Song of Lewes, and inspired a number of the 'constitutional' interpolations in the text of Bracton's *De legibus Angliae*.

And now look at some of Occam's responses in detail. In the first or original part of the *Dialogus*, where the master is at pains to distinguish catholic doctrine and heresy, it is the method of determination which is the subject of the pupil's inquiry. The people to do it, argues the master, are not the canonists, but the theologians of the Church. The canonists may indeed frame the *libellus* or statement of the charge; they know the formulæ of accusation, how to proceed against, how to defend the accused; they know the decrees; but to the theologian it belongs 'to know more deeply' (*profundius cognoscere*) what is in the canons, for theology is the *scientia superior*. The 'superior' science deals with the general and permanent principles of morality, not *moralia particularia* where the specific application of those principles is required.[2] In a similar fashion custom must give way to the superior code of natural law; to quote Gratian, *dignitate . . . ius naturale praevalet consuetudini et con-*

[1] Agnes E. Roberts, 'Pierre d'Ailly at the Council of Constance,' *Trans. Roy. Hist.* Soc., IV ser., xviii. 135.

[2] *Dialogus*, I. ix, pp. 407-408.

stitutioni. This 'deeper' knowledge is therefore a knowledge of principle; the theologian alone can appreciate whether the statements made are consistent with orthodoxy, and how deeply grounded is the conviction of the person accused that his opinion is right. The canonists are but concerned with the penalty.[1]

The next step is to show what is meant by orthodoxy, e.g. whether conformity with the canon of holy scripture is enough to warrant a statement being termed catholic. Occam appears to admit five guarantees of truth: holy scripture; tradition that has come down from the apostolic age; reputable chronicles and histories; history together with scripture or tradition, or both; and the inspired writings of persons whose work has been accepted as such by the universal Church.[2] The truths proclaimed in the Christian faith are immutable, and immutably catholic. 'No truth is catholic, unless it has been divinely revealed, either through its being inserted in the scriptures or because it has become known through the certainty of the Universal Church.' It follows that no new truth can be made by the Pope; he cannot add, like a legislator, to the sum total of *catholica veritas;* he cannot make a new article of faith, though he may give his approval to doctrines that have generally come to be considered as catholic and true. Can he then say that such and such an opinion is heretical and condemn it? On what authority, asks the disciple,

[1] I. xiv, p. 409.

[2] II. v, pp. 415-416: '*Magister:* Tenent isti, quod quinque sunt genera veritatum, quibus non licet Christianis aliter dissentire. Primum est earum, quae in Scriptura sacra dicuntur, vel ex eis argumento necessario possunt inferri. Secundum est earum, quae ab Apostolis ad nos per succedentium relationem vel scripturas fidelium peruenerunt, licet in Scripturis sacris non inueniantur insertae, nec ex solis eis possunt necessario argumento concludi; tertium est earum, quas in fide dignis cronicis et historiis, relationibus fidelium inuenimus. Quartum est earum, quae ex veritatibus primi generis et secundi tantum modo, vel que ex eis vel alterius earum una cum veritatibus tertii generis possunt manifeste concludi. Quintum est earum, quas Deus praeter veritates reuelatas Apostolis aliis reuelauit, vel etiam inspirauit, ac nouiter reuelaret, vel etiam inspiraret: quae reuelatio vel inspiratio ad vniuersalem ecclesiam absque dubitatione peruenit, vel etiam perueniret.' It is worth noting that the master says no more than 'tenent *isti*'; and the careful choice of tenses at the end of the sentence is characteristic.

does the pontiff rely? The master recognises that this is a very difficult question. Some, he replies, say that the Pope is himself of such great authority that he can at will declare any assertion to be heretical; but this, interjects the disciple, is to imply that the Pope cannot commit heresy himself. Another opinion, resumes the master, is that the Pope or the General Council, when they condemn an assertion, do so on one of three grounds: that it is not founded upon Holy Scripture, on which the principal General Councils relied; that it is contrary to Apostolic tradition; or that it goes against revelation or inspiration. What then, the disciple asks, if the Pope or the Council claim to be inspired? The wicked base their claims on miracles as much as do the good. The answer given is that the miracle was generally judged to be true; and after giving the arguments for and against the various opinions about the Pope's power to approve or condemn a position, the master concludes that he must not rely on the wisdom or science of men, but on divine authority or manifest miracle only.[1] He quotes St. Paul, I. Cor. iii. 1: 'my speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power: that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God.' Miracle or catholic authority must be the test of orthodoxy, not Papal theology or the prompting of the canonist. The speakers then proceed to discuss the belief of the laymen, especially the meaning of the expression *credere implicite*. I need not trouble you with the long technical discussion of the modes of belief or with the *modi pertinacie*, of which nineteen are enumerated, beyond noting that under the sixteenth of these the master manages to include a Pope who continues to assert an error contrary to the faith,[2] and under the seventeenth all who assent to that Pope's opinion.[3]

In the fifth book he replies to an important question put by the disciple. The younger man has put his query thus: Christians generally appear to think that the whole collectivity of Christians cannot commit heresy; some maintain, secondly,

[1] *Dialogus* II. xxx, p. 431 (the second occurrence of this page-number).
[2] IV. xxix, p. 466.
[3] IV. xxx, pp. 466-467.

that the General Council cannot; others, thirdly, that the Roman church cannot; others, fourthly, that the College of Cardinals cannot; and others, fifthly, that the Pope cannot. What does the master think about these views, and especially the fifth?[1] The master maintains that those holding the opinion that the Pope's authority in matters of faith is absolute err, since a canonically elected Pope *can* go astray.[2] Any that occupy their days with medieval theological controversy will be prepared here for arguments from the careers of Popes Symmachus and Leo, and Occam will not disappoint them. The master goes on to explain that not only may the Pope commit heresy: the college of cardinals may be defiled with it also;[3] and on such heresy the rest of Christendom has the right to sit in judgment. If the Pope or the cardinals are heretical, the rest of the Church may none the less be sound. This gives us a foretaste of the argument in the extremely important chapter xxii of the same book (V), wherein the master argues that the Roman Church, which is distinct from the whole congregation of the faithful,[4] *can* err in matters of faith; but then not only may a General Council, but the whole collectivity of Christians err in these matters. No section of the Church, not even the 'whole multitude' of believers itself, is exempt from taking a wrong line and falling into heresy.[5] Here we have the distinction, familiar to readers of Dietrich of Niem, drawn between the *Roman* and the *whole* Church. Dietrich uses it to argue that the *whole* Church, the *genus*, has the right to correct, by means of a General Council,

[1] V. i, p. 467.

[2] V. ii, iii, pp. 469-473. The objections to the fifteen demonstrations of this are stated in ch. iv. They all come under the general proposition that a canonically elected Pope cannot be a heretic as long as he remains Pope.

[3] V. viii, pp. 478-479.

[4] V. xxii, p. 489. Romana ecclesia, quae est distincta a congregatione fidelium, sicut caput a corpore.

[5] Occam obviously realises the very controversial nature of these assertions, since he is careful to state the arguments for and against very fully; he represents the *discipulus* as being appropriately surprised at their tenor. This statement of the fallibility of churchmen in their several degrees is very characteristic of Occam's outlook: but he never says *ecclesia* potest errare: he uses the expression *tota multitudo virorum et clericorum et laicorum; tota multitudo fidelium.*

the Roman *species*. Occam, on the other hand, is far more sceptical and does not fail to emphasise the human and fallible nature of the Church in all its organised forms: no section of the Church, not even the totality is free from the capacity to err. We should do well to contrast with this the views of Gerson, some seventy years later, in his *De auferibilitate Papae ab ecclesia*, where he argues that the bridegroom, Christ, can never be separated from his Church, his bride, and is to her a constant spring of inspiration, sustaining all ranks and grades in the Christian society.

None the less, when the Pope is a heretic, he must be punished, and the authority to do so is a General Council. This can be convoked by other authority besides the Pope; it can be summoned by the bishops, or, if they will not do it, by kings and princes; in the last resort, by all catholic men and women.[1] The disciple is somewhat surprised to hear the master maintain that the Council could be summoned without Papal authority; he argues, much as the orthodox canonist after 1378, that such a thing is impossible. The master, however, replies that there is good precedent: a *particular* Council can be summoned without the Pope's authority, to decide which is the true Pope in case of schism, as has happened at times in history. The bishops who assembled to judge Pope Marcellinus on account of his idolatry or to condemn Pope John XII constituted a *particular* Council: *a fortiori* a General Council can be called to sit in judgment on a pseudo-Pope, if suspected of heresy.[2] In such a Council kings, princes and other members of the laity may appear: it is not confined to Churchmen. The Emperors were present in the early Councils, and kings may come unbidden; for matters of faith touch not only the clergy, but the laity.

You will note that the primary object of the General Council, as Occam sees it in this part of the *Dialogus*, is to deal with a Pope who is guilty of heresy. So far the problem of a papal heretic has dominated the work. It is not until we reach the *Pars tertia*, entitled *De gestis diversorum Christianorum*, that the discussion leaves consideration of theological error, and comes to

[1] VI. lxxxiv, lxxxv, pp. 602-604.
[2] VI. lxxxiv, p. 602.

more general topics; and even here we have first to traverse a section on the dogmas of John XXII. The *De gestis* was intended to contain nine treatises, only two of which appear to have survived. The first of these, headed *De potestate papae et cleri*, is an exhaustive discussion of five opinions commonly held concerning the power of the Pope. These are the following: 1. That both in spiritual and in temporal matters the Pope has such plenitude of power from Christ's ordaining that he can do, as a matter of course (*regulariter*) and in any event, everything that is not against the law of God or the law of nature; 2. That he has, of divine right, such plenitude of power in spiritual, not in temporal things; 3. That he has this plenitude of power (both spiritual and temporal) partly from Christ's, partly from man's ordaining; 4. That neither from divine nor from human agency does he possess any such plenitude; 5. That he can exercise his power in single instances; not as a matter of course, and not of divine nor human right, but as individual occasions require (a theory of expediency).[1] It would be impossible to follow the discussion of these in detail: but the more important of Occam's conclusions may be indicated. Here again it is necessary to emphasize the caution shown by the master. *Dicunt: praefati opinantes dicunt: illa sententia tenet; ponunt;* and so forth.

The Pope does not possess the plenitude of power in temporal matters; for if he was above all positive law (*legibus positiuis solutus*), as the plenitude in temporal matters would imply, this would reduce Christian law, which is the law of freedom, to the position of a law of bondage (*lex seruitutis*).[2] All Christians would then become the Pope's slaves (*serui*); it would mean that he could deprive kings, princes and laymen of their possessions, and the result would be an infinity of dissension and strife. In such a case Christian law would be one of greater servitude than the Mosaic law. Christians are not the *serui* of the pontiff:[3] they

[1] *Dialogus*, 'De gestis diversorum Christianorum,' Tractatus primus, c. i, Goldast, p. 772.

[2] *Dialogus*, 'De gestis diversorum Christianorum,' Tractatus primus, c. v, p. 776.

[3] *Ibid.*, c. viii, pp. 780-781.

can exercise ownership and lordship over temporal goods and property, for otherwise they could not make donations to churches and their gifts and conveyances would be invalid. The power which the Pope exercises is purely spiritual; and this is partly from Christ, partly from human ordinance. Much of it he receives in virtue of canons made by General Councils; and it follows that such Councils do not derive their authority from the Roman pontiff, but that the pontiff derives his from them. For, too, the Pope's coercive power (*potestas coactiva*) he draws not immediately from Christ, but, mediately, from the faithful. In chapter xvii the problem of the spiritual and temporal plenitude of power is thus met :—

> It is asserted that Christ made the blessed Peter head, prince and prelate over the other Apostles and all the faithful; granting him in all things to be done or omitted that relate to the governance of the community of the faithful as regards morals and every sort of spiritual necessity, all power in such matters as could without danger, providently and to the common advantage be entrusted to one man; and freedom and coercive jurisdiction, provided that these did no notable harm or caused no extensive loss to the rights of the Empire, of kings, princes and any others, clerks or laymen, which belonged to them by the law of nature, the law of nations or the civil law after the institution of the law of the gospel. But in temporal matters he gave them [the successors of Peter], as the normal rule, only the right of seeking temporalities for their sustenance and the fulfilment of their office. All power, however, which the Roman pontiffs have possessed or still possess in the ordinary course beyond that just specified, they have secured and now hold as the result of human action, whether condition, concession, spontaneous submission; or consent, tacit or expressed; or because of the powerlessness, negligence or malice of other men; or through custom or some other human right.[1]

The almost painfully careful wording, and the emphasis laid upon the gradual historical evolution of the papal prerogatives, are worth notice. In the foregoing chapters Occam does not actually deny to the Papacy the plenitude of power in spiritual things. He lays down four reasons for it and without recording a definite view passes on to consider it in temporal matters. The passage quoted above seems the clearest record of Occam's opinion on

[1] *Dialogus*, 'De gestis diversorum Christianorum,' Tractatus primus, *c.* xvii, Goldast, p. 786.

the source of Papal power discoverable in the *Dialogus ;* but in the later *De imperatorum et pontificum potestate* he has been forced to use clearer language. To that I will come very shortly.

The question of the temporal power of the Pope is taken up in the *Opus nonaginta dierum*, which is both a defence of Michael of Cesena, and also purports to be a complete demolition of the Papal case against the Friars. The most interesting section of it is when Occam proves that the temporal power of the Pope has no justification, because Christ was not a *rex saecularis*, nor was St. Peter vicar of Christ in any temporal sense. In spiritual matters, Occam argues, the Emperor and all other princes were subject to his authority ; but any authority which he possessed in secular concerns was conferred upon him by the faithful and was revocable at their pleasure. The lands of the Church had been bestowed by the Emperor and his successors were competent to resume his gift. In fact these and all the other possessions of the Church belonged to the whole Christian commonwealth of clergy and laity alike. Thus bishops, Occam argues, would do well to follow the example of the Apostles, and to hand over the temporalities of their sees to lay administrators, who would hold them in trust for the poor, while they devoted themselves to the spiritual tasks of their office.

On much of the *Dialogus* it would be difficult to convict Occam of heresy. The *opus nonaginta dierum* is, it is true, a powerful invective against John XXII, and neither this nor the *Compendium errorum Papae* were forgotten by Benedict XII and Clement VI ; but clearer and more unequivocal statements of erroneous doctrine were to come. Let us look at some of these. Probably during the last quarter of 1337 Occam, from abroad, wrote a treatise supporting Edward III's request for clerical subsidies in the war with France : *an rex Angliae pro succursu guerrae possit recipere bona ecclesiarum.* Could Edward receive clerical contributions when such grants were regarded with disfavour by the Papacy? Here a strongly erastian note is sounded in the proposition that the English prelates are bound to aid their king in a just war ; since 'The prelates and clergy subject to the King of England do not possess their temporal possessions, especially those which they have in abundance, by divine right,

but by human right which emanates from the king' (*jure humano ab ipso rege manante*) and Occam goes on to interpret the intention of kings and other pious benefactors of the Church :—

> It was the will and intention of the kings of England and others of their subjects who conferred temporal goods on the Church that temporal goods should be expended upon pious causes, especially those which might redound to the common utility of all in the dominions of the same kings. . . . But among pious causes the defence of one's country and of the rights of the kingdom must not be accounted the least. . . .[1]

An essential point made by Occam is that the kings and other benefactors of the English Church were the original owners of the property so donated, not the Pope : 'therefore when they gave their gifts to English churches, they were able to ordain how those goods were to be expended and how much power the clergy and the Pope should have in them ; nor has any one any power over them except what the kings of England have conferred upon the donees. Wherefore if the kings of England neither tacitly nor expressly gave the Pope any power over those goods, the Pope has in the ordinary course no power over them at all.' It would be interesting to know how far this argument was 'inspired' by Edward III, at that time in close communication with Lewis of Bavaria.

It is unlikely that views such as these added much to Occam's unpopularity with the Curia at Avignon ; much more dangerous, in the eyes of the orthodox, was the treatise he put out at the end of 1347 or early 1348, directed against the declaration which Clement VI made obligatory upon all persons about to be pro-

[1] Scholz, *op. cit.*, p. 441. Dr. Scholz dates this treatise 'between 1338 and 1340' ; but the events that prompted it can be fixed more definitely. The provincial assemblies that were to make the grant were ordered by Edward III to be summoned for 26th September, 1337, after diocesan assemblies had considered the matter : M. V. Clarke, *Medieval Representation and Consent*, p. 149. On 25th September, the Pope instructed his nuncios, specially charged with the task of reconciling the French and English monarchs, to represent to the King of France his grief at learning that the prelates and ecclessiastics of France are being compelled to contribute a subsidy to the war. (*Cal. Papal Letters*, ii. 565. Their commission is on pp. 537-40.) It seems probable that like efforts were made through the nuncios to prevent Edward exacting similar contributions.

moted to higher office in the Church (*quilibet notabiliter promovendus in ecclesia*). The occasion was the succession to the Empire of Charles IV, the ' Emperor of the priests ' in the room of Lewis of Bavaria. Clement's formula, issued 29th November, 1347, consisted of three undertakings. The prelate-elect was to confess the catholic faith ' and believe and hold, as the Church holds, that it does not belong to the Emperor to depose the supreme pontiff or to elect or create another ; he was to swear that he would obey the decisions of Pope Clement and the Roman Church in dealing with the former supporters of Lewis of Bavaria ; and to promise faithfulness to the Pope and obedience to Charles as Roman king approved by the same Church.' Occam observed that the letter was a letter of abjuration and confusion rather than one of ' good confession,' and that it had sown schism and discord.[1] Under the first head, he argued that no Pope who was a firm and proper pastor would ever be proceeded against by an Emperor ; such action had never been known. If the Pope deviates from the catholic faith, he ceases to be a prelate of the Church, and can be proceeded against by the Emperor. It is absurd to say that the Empire, which is from God alone, lacks the authority and power to denounce the Pope and to depose him when he goes astray from the faith or errs in morality. On the second point, there is serious doubt whether Clement, a man of irregular life, has not entered the sheep-fold by the wrong way. He is a hireling rather than a shepherd. His character and morals suggest that he is no true Pope, and his support of the errors of John XXII proves it. On the third, Charles cannot be admitted as a true Emperor because he is a Luxemburg, a descendant of Henry VII who was excommunicated by the Church, and, because of this, can only be legitimized by the grace of Avignon. He is no more than *rex clericorum*, the clerks' king, the stipendiary of the Avignonese.

It was this treatise that aroused the wrath of Occam's most vigorous opponent, Conrad of Mengenberg, the anti-Franciscan author of the *Planctus ecclesiae*, who in 1354 sent Charles IV, through Bishop Frederick of Regensburg, a tract against William of Occam. He composed it, he said, when he was waiting in

[1] Scholz, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

Nuremburg for an occasion to present to the Emperor his book on the *translatio imperii a grecis in Francos et Germanos*, for in that city a *quaternulus quidam* that professed to be written by Occam came into his hands. His opinion of the Englishman is interesting. Occam had, he thought, captivated so many philosophers that a third of those now engaged in that study had 'apostatized from solid philosophy.' Conrad compares Occam to the dragon of the Apocalypse, the great enemy of the Church and the corruptor of youth. He is the heresiarch of his age, and from Clement VI he repeats the statement that Occam was the teacher of the abominable heretics Marsilius of Padua and John of Jandun. There is one curious personal touch. Twelve years ago, Conrad says, Occam sent a fellow-Franciscan, an Englishman, to ask him to avoid censorious expressions whenever disputing against Occam.[1] This means that the German was on Occam's tracks as early as 1342; and from his *Treatise against William Occam* can be gleaned evidence to suggest that Conrad knew the early part of the *Dialogus*. 'About all the Cardinals and the whole clergy falling into error, I reply that it is impossible for all the prelates of the Church and the whole clergy to err in the faith, while the layman walk in the right path.' The allusion to Occam's view about the *tota multitudo* going astray is obvious.

I have no time to discuss Occam's *Super potestate Summi Pontificis Octo Quaestiones:* they are of considerable interest,[2] but do not add much to the position stated in very nearly the last of his controversial works, the *De imperatorum et Pontificum potestate* which Professor McIlwain has analysed so fully. This, as I suggested, contains a development of chapter xvii of the first Treatise in the *De gestis diversorum Christianorum*. There is no *dicitur* here. The point of view is concise and Occam's own. Yet, in spite of the extreme bitterness which he feels against Avignon, he is never extreme. It is the view of a constitutional liberal, not of an anti-papal zealot, that demands our scrutiny.

[1] Scholz, *op. cit.*, p. 366.

[2] A summary is given in A. J. and R. W. Carlyle, *A History of Medieval Political Theory in the West*, v. 48-51.

The trouble in the Church, Occam argues, arises from the fact that the Roman pontiffs have left their own province and stretched out their hands to what is not theirs. They argue that they can do this because of Christ's commission to Peter; but neither in temporalities nor in spiritualities did Peter ever have such plenitude of power as to be able to do everything not forbidden by divine law or the law of nature. Peter and his successors have, in fact, received a limited spiritual power and a carefully bounded temporal authority. The principate instituted by Christ *nequaquam regulariter ad temporalia se extendit;*[1] it does not extend to the rights and liberties of others, enabling the Pope to remove or disturb them, especially those of Emperors, kings, princes and other laity. And in spiritual matters, the *quodcunque ligaveris* must be understood 'with its exceptions';[2] and one of these exceptions is characteristic of Franciscan argument. The 'principate instituted by God' has been so ordained for the good of its subjects, *propter bonum subditorum;* it is a *principatus ministrativus*, a principate of service, rather than one of domination, which, to use a Greek name, is called despotic. The ministerial kind, being 'in respect of free men' is much nobler and greater in dignity than the principate of domination (*qui est respectu servorum*).[3] Readers of Conciliar literature will recollect that to Cusanus the Papal supremacy rests upon the fact that the Pope is *maior in administratione.*

Professor McIlwain very justly comments upon the height of Occam's ideal for the Papacy.[4] In answering the question (ch. xiii) *wherein consists the sublimity of the apostolic principate*, Occam gives a definition of the Pope's judicial supremacy which would have commended itself to Innocent III. The Papal supremacy, he says, is seen

> in the fact that the Pope by divine right can, as a matter of course or by way of a special case (*regulariter vel casualiter*) do all things which are necessary for the governance and regiment of the faithful, although in the normal

[1] Scholz, *op. cit.*, p. 457.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 459.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 462.

[4] *The Growth of Political Thought*, p. 296. This is especially marked in ch. xii (Scholz, p. 467) analysed below.

course of events there are certain limits set to this power which he is not usually allowed to transgress ; and what these limits are is clear from what we said above, although it is not clear what are the cases in which lawful exercise is made of those powers that are not granted to him as a matter of ordinary routine. And perhaps we cannot lay down any general rule about them ; but in dealing with them it is necessary to proceed with deliberation according to the discretion and counsel of the wisest men who love justice most sincerely without acceptance of persons, if such men are available, whether poor or rich, subordinates or prelates. If such persons are not forthcoming, the case must be passed over, lest the Pope, out of ignorance (under which in fact he often labours) perilously transgress the ancient limits and decree sentences which by divine law are null.

Jure divino the Pope can do all things ' necessary for the government of the faithful ' : in practice he should go circumspectly. Here is the position, put in another way (ch. xii), and in the form of a reply to the orthodox papalist.

The community of the faithful ought [the objector urges] to be subject to one head and supreme judge in all causes and cases arising, since otherwise it would not be best ordered, because it would have several heads, or lack a head, both monstrous conditions. But none beside the Pope is the head of all the faithful in everything ; the Emperor no, since spiritual things do not belong to him ; therefore to the Pope, in every respect, the community of the faithful is subject.

To which I reply that just as the archbishop in his archbishopric, and the patriarch in his patriarchate, are heads and supreme judges in spiritual things, though neither can take cognisance of the cases that come before their subordinates, unless by consent or some other legal way those cases are brought before them (ch. viii of Causa IX, Quaestio 3, *Conquestus*) [1] ; and therefore neither archbishop nor patriarch is regularly and ordinarily judge within his spheres, in every matter ; so, though not all the faithful are immediately subject in all things to the Pope, nor is the Pope in many matters their judge, yet, because in the necessary definition of every case by a judge, whether in the ordinary course or on special occasion, by divine law there should be some one deciding authority, therefore we must concede that the Pope below Christ is head and judge of all the faithful.

In the last resort Occam cannot escape from a unitary theory of papal sovereignty ; it was Marsilius who knew how to do that. The liberal tries to curtail the operation of the Papal power ; the revolutionary does not argue about the *plenitudo*. He denies it altogether. It is, however, less easy to follow Professor

[1] *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. Friedberg, i. 608-9.

McIlwain when he says "The part of his [Occam's] thought most unusual and most noteworthy is his reservation of the ultimate decision even on the deepest questions of faith and practice to the Gospel alone, and the Gospel interpreted not by the Pope or apparently even by the clergy alone, but by 'the discretion and counsel of the wisest men sincerely zealous for justice without acceptance of persons,' etc." If the first of these passages which I have translated above is carefully read, Occam's meaning will be clear. He is not referring to the Gospel at all, but to the help of expert jurisconsults at the Curia, who will advise the Pope whether he can exercise his jurisdiction in a particular matter (*casualiter*). To make Occam anticipate the claim to private judgment, 'acted upon though disavowed afterward by the Protestant leaders of the sixteenth century,' is to credit him with thoughts beyond even the power of the *inceptor venerabilis*.

Note on the Iconography of William of Occam.[1]

The iconography of William of Occam, as of Duns Scotus and other great scholastics, has never been worked out, mainly because, extensive though the material is, it is impossible to find among the representations of William, anything which can be regarded as an authentic portrait. The drawing here reproduced, however, though it is later, has some interest of its own. It was found in 1911 under the plaster ceiling of a porch of the Franciscan monastery in Cracow, and has been identified by Professor A. Korcik, who has kindly communicated a photograph of it to us. Professor Korcik assigns the drawing to the fifteenth century. Dr. A. G. Little, who has seen the photograph, considers that it may belong to the sixteenth century. The inscription reads . . . S OGHAM DOCTOR PAR . . . PST Fr Min.

On the last flyleaf of Caius College MS. 464, there is a rough sketch, drawn in Occam's lifetime, with the legend 'Frater Occham iste.' Mr. Z. N. Brooke, who has kindly looked at the manuscript, writes that it is a very rough sketch, 'and I can't believe it is really a contemporary portrait.'

[1] I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Powicke for the substance of this note.

NOTES AND EXTRACTS FROM THE SEMITIC MSS. IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

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II.

The Samaritans and the Sabbatic River.

IN a letter[1] composed by the Samaritan Meshalmah ibn Murjān (Ab Sakhwah) at Nablus (Shechem), and addressed to the community of the Israelites "wherever they be found in whatever corners" ואיה · הם · ממצאים · מן · הפאתין they are invited to enter into communication with their brethren at Shechem, and to send "two or three men of wisdom, discernment and understanding." At this point in the letter there occurs a passage which has caused much perplexity to scholars. Transcribed in Hebrew characters it is as follows:

ואן · אמרתם · מה · תוכל · תשינו · לנו · בעבור · השבת · האמת ·
אתכם · ואולם · יכולה · תעשו · לכם · תהבה · ותלכו · בה :

M. Heidenheim was one of the first to offer a translation. This particular passage he translated, "Say what you can inform us about the true Sabbath, and perhaps you could . . . and in it go."[2] The gap indicated occurs in the translation of Heidenheim who was thus obliged to acknowledge his inability to understand

[1] The letter appears to have been written in the year A.H. 1147 (1734). It was first published in Samaritan script by M. Heidenheim, *Schreiben Meschalma ben Ab Sechuah's an die Samaritaner* in the short-lived *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für englisch-theologische Forschung und Kritik* (Gotha, 1861), i. pp. 78 ff. It has been printed afresh from a copy found in a MS. in the British Museum [B.M. MSS. Add. 19791], transcribed in Hebrew characters and re-translated by M. Gaster, *The Samaritans* (London, 1925) [Schweich Lectures, 1923], pp. 171 ff.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 99.

and translate. A. Geiger recognised the faultiness of Heidenheim's rendering and offered an improved translation.[1] "But if you say you cannot reach us because of the Sabbath, that is quite true, only you can make a ship [2] and journey in it." But Geiger, too, was puzzled and added by way of explanation of the excuse that the Sabbath might prevent them from starting out on the journey, that the Sabbath was a day "in which they must rest, nor could they meet any co-religionists on the road with whom they could lodge." And the reason for making a ship he suggests was that it would be permissible for them to travel by water on the Sabbath. But Geiger must have forgotten that such advice would come strangely from the Samaritans who are such rigid observers of the Sabbath. Indeed, when a young Samaritan of the same period as Meshalmah was pressed to make a journey to England he refused because the ship would not cease sailing on the Sabbath.[3]

Attention was drawn to the pointlessness of the translations of both Heidenheim and Geiger by M. Grünbaum [4] who suggested that השבת in the text did not mean the Sabbath day, as had been assumed not unnaturally, but the river Sabbation or Sambation, a river famous in Jewish legend which was said to cease flowing on the Sabbath day. He pointed out in support of his contention that in one of the Samaritan letters to Scaliger there occurred the passage, "And we hear of you and the River Sabbath and what is beyond it," [5] and also that the Samaritan guide employed by Robinson when he ascended Mt. Gerizim

[1] *Z.D.M.G.* xvi. (1862), p. 726.

[2] Geiger recognised that תהבה was an orthographic error, or a Samaritan *scriptio plena*, for תבה the ark (of Noah).

[3] "Of their niceness in keeping the Sabbath and fear to offend against the command of doing no work in it the aforesaid Bishop [Bishop Huntington of Raphoe] gives us an account of a young Samaritan who was pretty inclinable to take a voyage to England to visit those whom they took for their brethren there, but at last utterly refused it when he understood the ship was to sail on the Sabbath as well as on the other six days."—*An Account of the Samaritans in a letter to J—— M—— Esq.* (Anonymous), London, 1714, p. 100.

[4] *Nachträge zu den Bemerkungen über die Samaritaner* (*Zeitschrift*, xvi. 389 ff.), in *Z.D.M.G.* xxiii. (1869), pp. 615 ff.

[5] : אחרין · ומה · השבת · ובנהר · בכם · נשמע · ואנחנו *vid.* J. G. Eichhorn, *Repertorium*, xiii. p. 265.

had spoken of a River Sabt.[1] So little impression was made by Grünbaum's identification that it was quickly lost sight of, and M. Seligsohn in the article *Sambation* in the Jewish Encyclopædia is content to rate the possibility of the Sambation legend being current amongst the Samaritans as a conclusion of Grünbaum's. It was evidently overlooked by M. Gaster, when he made his fresh translation. At the passage we are considering he reads as text :

ואן . אמרתם . מה . תוכלו . כולה . תעשו . תשינו . לנו . בעבור .
השבת . האמת . אתכם . ואולם . לכם . (ת)(א)והבה[2] (*sic*) . ותלכו . בה :

and translates : " If you ask what good you can do for us, you may inform us as to the way of keeping the true Sabbath. For you may have a true way of keeping it." Realising evidently the improbability of such an assertion and admission on the part of the Samaritans at Nablus, he adds as footnote : " This passage is somewhat corrupt in the text, and the rendering here is tentative." But unfortunately in this case it is Dr. Gaster himself who has unwittingly corrupted the text. I have had an opportunity of examining the original through a photographic reproduction and have verified the text as that given by Heidenheim.[3] Dr. Gaster has been led into error by the practice of the Samaritans in writing words, which spilled over the end of a line, upwards in the margin so that they crossed at right angles the ends of several lines. In this case the words . תעשו . יכולה are so written and Dr. Gaster has attached them to the end of the wrong line. It is a mistake naturally and easily made more particularly where one is, like Dr. Gaster, casting about to supply meaning to an obscure passage. The translation, giving the general sense of the passage, should be " And if you say you cannot reach us because of the [River] Sabbath, you speak truly.

[1] " On being asked if there were Samaritans in any other part, he (i.e. the guide), said there were others living beyond the River Sabt which could be crossed only on a Saturday ; but as the Samaritans do not travel on that day nothing more was known about them."—E. Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, etc. (London, 1856), ii. p. 279.

[2] This is Gaster's own query.

[3] Dr. Gaster very kindly gave me the use of his photographs of the manuscript.

But why not make an ark and make the voyage [over the River] in it?"[1]

That Grünbaum was right in his conjecture that the Sabbatic River and not the Sabbath day is referred to in Meshalmah's letter is borne out by an addition in Arabic to a Samaritan Codex in the Rylands Library. It occupies one of the surplus pages of Codex XXII. Unfortunately the text has suffered slightly through damage to a part of the margin, and possibly also by the trimming of the folios at the hands of the European binder.[2] It tells of the visit to Nablus of an Indian, his assurance in reply to interrogation that there was a community in India, known as the People of Moses who dwelt on and beyond the "sea of the Sabbath," and gives details of the route to be followed in order to reach them. The handwriting of the manuscript is *naskh* in a rather loose style, but is on the whole clear and easily decipherable except in respect of one or two words. The name of the scribe is not revealed. I give here both text and translation. The dotted lines in the text are gaps due to the damage aforesaid.

Text.

Ryl. Sam. XXII, fol. 3b, addition.

يوم تاريخه في شهر محرم سنة ١١٧٩ حضر واحد هندي رجل نائف (؟)
ملاح وسئلناه عن بلاده وهل انه سمع في بلاده عن خبر سمره ام لا فقال
انا اسمع عن بلاد قوم السيد موسي ابن عمران عليه السلام ووصف لنا عن
حالتهم ان كتابهم تورات موسي النبي وانهم في يوم السبت لا يخرجوا من
منازلهم وان دبيحتهم وطبيخهم واكلهم وشربهم ما احد يقدر يدني اليهم
غيرهم ولهم كهان وعراف ما يقدرو يخرجوا من امرهم فطلبنا منه يعرفنا
عن حدود بلادهم فقال الدي يطلب بلادهم يمشي من الشام الي بغداد ومنها
الي قندار ارض العراق ومنها الي هزاره (؟) ومنها الي شقرقند ومنها الي بلق

[1] The text is of interest for its mixture of Arabic and Hebrew, ואן is وَإِنْ and מה is مَا, "not." תהבה is, of course, תבה, the "ark" (of Noah), probably the only kind of ship of which they had knowledge.

[2] This took place before it came into the possession of the Library.

بخاره ومنها الي قابول ومنها الي ناهور ومنها الي دلي تخت سلطان الهند ومنها الي مولطان ومنها الي قشمير بلاد العيساوي ومنها الي راجا بلاد قوم موسي عليه السلام . . . . بلاد من بحر السبت وعابر وهي بلاد الانكلند . . . . واسمها بندر ابو شهر . . . . بلد بندر سطاره . . . . بلد قلعة قليفور فيها سلطانهم منهم وفيهم في حكم سلطان الانكلند . . . . هده الاربع بلاد علي ما يقل لنا هدا الهندي ان كل بلد منهم بها الوف وخلق كثير فوق الغاية واغلب صنعتهم البفت الهندي والشاشات والصايات (؟) الرفاع غاليين الثمن زبنا يقرب اجتماعهم في اشرف البقاع انه قدير علي ما يشا وهدا كما عرفنا هدا الهندي حرنا وسالنا من هنود غيره عرفونا ان من بحر السبت وعابر فيه بلاد يقولو لهم قوم موسي وهم كثير لا ينضبطو والله اعلم.

Translation.

On this date in the month of Muharram of the year 1179,[1] there arrived a certain Indian, a man of fine address (?),[2] and we inquired of him concerning his country and had he heard in his land any word of the Samaritans or no? He replied, "I hear tell of the country of the People of the Lord Moses, Son of 'Amrān,'[3] on whom be peace." He proceeded to describe to us their circumstances. [He informed us] that their book is the Torah of the Prophet Moses, that on the Sabbath day they do not go forth from their dwellings, and in respect of their slaughtering, their cooking, their eating and their drinking no one other than one of their own number may venture near. They have priests and sages (عراف)[4] whose command they must not

[1] June-July, A.D. 1765.

[2] The text here is difficult and puzzling. The word after رجل appeared to be either ناس or ناءو either of which would present difficulties of translation, especially in conjunction with ملاح which could be interpreted in various ways. I am convinced, however, that the word is نايف or نائف [= 'eminent'] with the diacritic point on the ف omitted.

[3] The usual Arabic rendering of Amram.

[4] Or perhaps sorcerers—the word being used in that sense.

transgress. We asked him to acquaint us with the boundaries of their land. He answered: "He who would seek their land must proceed from Damascus to Baghdad and thence to Qandār [1] of the land of Irāq, and thence to Huzārah (?), and thence to Shaqarqand,[2] and thence to Balq of Buchārah, and thence to Qābūl, and thence to Nahōr,[3] and thence to Delī,[4] the capital of the Sultan of India, and thence to Mūlṭān, and thence to Qashmīr, a Christian land, and thence to Rājā, the land of the People of Moses, on whom be peace . . . land of the 'sea' of the Sabbath and beyond, and it is the land of England . . . and its name is Bandar Abu Shihr [5] . . . town of Bandar Siṭarah . . . town Qala'at Qulaifūr,[6] in which is their sultan, belongs to them, and some of them are under the sway of the Sultan of England . . . these four towns according to what this Indian told us in each of them are thousands, a vast multitude beyond excess. The most common of their manufactures is Indian calico, muslins, and expensive fine stuffs (?). May our Lord bring near [the time of] their gathering together in the noblest of hill-country,[7] for he has power to do what he wills. And this we have written according to what this Indian informed us, and we have made inquiry of Indians besides him who have told us that from the Sabbath Sea and beyond there is a land whose inhabitants they designate the People of Moses, and they are in number beyond computation. And God is all-knowing.

NOTE.—The text speaks of بحر السبت lit. "Sea of the Sabbath" and it may well be that the Samaritans, or at least some of them, thought of it as a sea, or an arm of the sea. We have seen that in a letter to Scaliger they speak of نهر السبت, the "River Sabbath." It may be that they made use of the word بحر, as the Arabs do, in the sense also of large river, as *e.g.*

[1] Is this supposed to be Kandahar?

[2] Probably for Samarqand. The diacritic points on the *sh* and the first *q* look as if they might have been added later.

[3] Possibly for Lahore.

[4] Delhi, properly spelled Dehli.

[5] Bandar is "seaport." Abu Shihr is Bushire.

[6] Kolapore.

[7] Probably the hill-country of Ephraim including Mount Gerizim.

بحر النيل, the "River Nile." The notion that arms of the Great Sea (Mediterranean), flowing as rivers, surrounded the habitable globe was a current belief as late as the twelfth century, at least amongst Rabbinic writers.[1] The mention of England is due to the fact that the India of that time was the India of the East India Company and of Clive.

It is not surprising that legends should cluster round the disappearance of the Ten Tribes whom Tiglath-Pileser III.[2] and later Shalmanassar IV.[3] or Sargon II.[4] deported from their land. The thought that such a large portion of the Chosen Race should be merged with the peoples amongst whom they were forcibly settled and lose their character as a Peculiar People and their identity, does not readily occur. It is in the light of lineal descendants of the deported Israelites that the British race appears to "British-Israel" to-day.[5]

The basis of the legends is found in the Old Testament accounts of the deportation in the books of Kings and Chronicles. The brevity of the references, and the form in which they were cast, contributed much to the mystery and speculation which enveloped the disappearance of the Ten Tribes. We are told that they were deported and settled "in Halah, and in Habor, the river of Gozan, and the cities of Media" (2 Ki. xvii. 6; xviii. 11). In Chronicles we have, "he brought them to Halah, and Habor, and Hara and the river of Gozan to this day" (v. 26). The Greek version has read "mountains of Media" (הרי instead of ערי), and the "to this day" (עד היום הזה) of

[1] "The wise men of Arabia agree that the Great Sea, in which the waters flow, surrounds the whole habitable globe which is formed like a sphere. Every one knows that the habitable globe is divided into three parts, while Jerusalem is the navel of the earth; beyond lie Egypt, Cush, the Land of the Hittites, etc."—*Dodi Venechdi*, of Berachya Hanakdan, ed. H. Gollancz (Oxford, 1920), p. 11.

[2] Cf. 2 Ki. xv. 29.

[3] Cf. 2 Ki. xvii. 6; xviii. 11.

[4] There is no reference to this in the Books of Kings and Chronicles, but Sargon's annals claim that he deported 27,280 Israelites after the fall of Samaria (*Keil. Bib.* ii. 54 *sq.*). Shalmanassar IV. died during the siege. The name of Sennacherib is also included in this list by Rabbinic writers.

[5] *Vid. British-Israel Truth* (an official publication), 12th ed. London 1918.

Chronicles may well be due to a misreading of the ערי מדי. It is not disputed, I think, that Gozan [1] is the region *Guzānu* of Assyrian inscriptions and the *Γαυζανῖτις* of the geographer Ptolemy,[2] in the neighbourhood of Nisibis in N. Mesopotamia, and that Habor is a tributary of the Euphrates, the Ḥabur of the Assyrians and of modern times and the Chaboras of classic writers. Then Halah, although attempts have been made to identify it also as a river, is most probably the town or district of Ḥalaḥḥu or Ḥalaḥḥa of Assyrian texts, also to be sought in the same region. The English versions in reading "*by* the river of Gozan" (A.V.), and "*on* the river of Gozan" (R.V.) mislead, for they imply that Habor is the name of a town or district. This is in violation of the Hebrew text. Equally unlikely, though textually permissible, is the interpretation of Gozan as the name of a river. It was an interpretation favoured by the Rabbinic writers.

The district to which the Ten Tribes were deported by the Assyrian kings is thus very clearly indicated in the Old Testament. But the fact of their crossing a river in their migration seems to have caught the imagination of later generations of those left behind. Their history told them that when the Israelites left Egypt the waters of the Red Sea were drawn asunder to permit a crossing on foot. Again on their entry into the Promised Land the waters of the Jordan ceased to flow to permit them to pass over dry shod. It was natural to associate this further crossing of a river with a miraculous happening of the same nature. The name given to the river on that account may well have been the River Shabbath, or river of cessation.

In the first century A.D. the Jewish historian Josephus records that Titus, when peregrinating through Syria providing lavish spectacles in the cities and using Jewish captives to that end, came upon a strange river between Arkea and Raphanea: "for when it runs its current is strong and has plenty of water; after which its springs fail for six days together and leave its channel dry as anyone may see; after which days it runs on the seventh day as it did before, and as though it had undergone no change

[1] The LXX has *Γωζάρ* (but not in all MSS.) in 2 Ki. xvii. 6.
[2] *Geog.* v. 18. 3.

at all ; it hath also been observed to keep this order perpetually and exactly ; whence it is that they call it the Sabbatic River—that name being taken from the sacred seventh day amongst the Jews." [1] Josephus, be it noted, does not associate the flow of the river with the Sabbath day as such. Pliny, also, as Kohut in his *Aruch Completum* remarks has " heard a whisper " of it.[2] In his account of strange rivers, writing at a slightly later date than Josephus, he observes, " In Judaea, there is a river which is dry on Sabbaths." [3] If this is the same river to which Josephus has made reference it is here very definitely associated with the Sabbath day as a day of rest. But neither Josephus nor Pliny in any way connect the rivers of which they speak with the deportation of the Ten Tribes.

The Ezra Apocalypse, which may date towards the end of the first or beginning of the second century A.D. and thus in all probability later than either Josephus or Pliny, has something more to say of the river over which the Ten Tribes were carried captive.

> " These are the Ten Tribes which were carried away prisoners out of their own land in the time of King Hosea, whom Shalmaneser the king of Assyria led away captive, and carried them over the waters and so came they into another land. But they took this counsel amongst themselves that they would leave the multitude of the heathen and go forth into a further country where never mankind dwelt, that they might there keep their law, which they had never kept in their own land. And they entered into

[1] *Bell. Jud.* vii. 5. 1, tr. Whiston. This river was identified by E. Robinson [Abriss einer Reise in Palastina im Jabre, 1852, *Z.D.M.G.* vii. (1853), p. 75], as the intermittent spring now known as Fuwār ed. Dēr, the source of the Nahr el-'Arūs, below Qal'at el-Ḥusn and near the monastery of Mar Jirjis (St. George). " The waters flow every three days but that does not prevent the Moslems affirming that the waters run only on the seventh day, to wit—Friday."—So A. Neubauer, *La Géographie du Talmud* (Paris, 1868), pp. 33 f., Rabbi Petachia (twelfth century) remarks that in Jabneh there is a spring which flows during six days of the week and ceases on the Sabbath [*Sibbub*, ed. Prague, p. 5, cf. Jew. Enc. s.v. *Sambation*].

[2] s.v. *Sabation*. ונם פלינוס שמע שמץ מנהו.

[3] *Hist. Nat.* xxxi. 2. In Judaea rivus Sabbathis omnibus siccatur.

> Euphrates by the narrow passages of the river. For the Most High then showed signs for them and held still the flood till they were passed over. For through that country there was a great way to go, namely, for a year and a half; and the same region is called Arsareth. Then dwelt they there until the latter time, and now when they shall begin to come the Highest shall stay the springs of the stream again that they may go through." [1]

The Ten Tribes not merely cross the river but the river ceases to flow to permit them to do so. A new feature introduced here is the far-off place which the Ten Tribes make their final destination and eventual home. There is no suggestion that the passage was made on the Sabbath—as how could it?—or that the river continued to make a weekly practice of ceasing to flow. By the beginning of the third century or a little later the exile assumes new features.

According to the *Midrash Rabbah*, R. Judah ben Simon said, "The tribe of Judah and Benjamin was not exiled to the same place as the Ten Tribes. The Ten Tribes were exiled previously beyond the river Sambation. The tribe of Judah and Benjamin was scattered in all the lands." [2] A definite river now comes into view called the Sambation beyond which is the final settlement of the Ten Tribes. Sambation (סמבטיון) is the Rabbinic rendering of *τὸ Σάββατον*, the Sabbath. Dissimilation, a process familiar enough in Aramaic, has led to the form Sanbation and then to Sambation.[3] What is of special interest is that the tradition has evidently a Greek basis, implying that it was from a Greek writing that the word was taken.

[1] 2 Esdras [more generally called 4 Esdras], xiii. 40-47.

[2] Genesis, *Parashah*, 73 (*Sader* ויצא) also *Mid. Rab.*, Numbers, *Par.* 16, and *Mid. Yalkut*, Gen. 984. Judah ha-Nasi died *circa* A.D. 210.

[3] Apart from the dissimilative process the intrusive *m* before a labial is not unknown. Thus we have Gk. *λαμπάς*, Heb. לפיד; Lat. tympanum, Gk. *τύπανον*, Heb. תף; Gk. *σαμβύκη*, Heb. סבכה; Fr. timbale, Arab. طبل etc. The יון, as a termination need not be regarded as a rendering of the *-ον* in *Σάββατον*. It is used for a whole variety of Greek terminations including *-ος*. *Vid.* M. Schwab, Mots grecs latins dans les livres rabbiniques, in *Semitic Studies in Memory of A. Kohut* (Berlin, 1897), pp. 514 *sqq.* L. Herzfeld, *Geschichte d. Volkes Israel*, i. p. 366, was badly misled when he attempted to identify etymologically Sambation with Zabatos, the Zab river.

The Sabbatic River with the magical properties implying by its name, is now indissolubly linked with the Ten Tribes. As by this time the Ten Tribes were regarded as exiled to the most distant part of the habitable globe, the River Sambation, almost inevitably, became the final river which they had to cross to reach their last settlement. Soon it becomes an isolator and a separator of the Ten Tribes, or a portion of them, from the rest of mankind, a prison wall as well as a last line of defence. At first the breadth of its stream and its raging torrent were regarded as sufficient for the purpose. But gradually, in atune with its magical cessation of flow on the Sabbath, it gathered to itself new marvels. Marvels which made other rivers famous were attached to the Sambation. In one of the legends which gathered round the name of Alexander the Great it is recorded that when he was journeying through the lands to the south of Egypt he came to a river which flowed with water for three days and with sand for three days.[3] Evidently there was here a Sabbatic river. Mas'ūdī in the tenth century affirms that there was a river of sand in Africa, perhaps basing his information on the Alexander legend.[1] Yet before Mas'ūdī's time sand and stones had began to oust the water of the Sabbatic river. Midrash Tanhuma records a dispute between R. 'Aqiba and Tyrannus (or Tineius) Rufus where the latter asks how it is known that the day observed as the Sabbath is the original Sabbath. 'Aqiba replies that the Sambation testifies to it since it rolls down stones and sand on the six days of the week but ceases on the Sabbath.[3] Here the rolling down stones and sand is probably nothing more than an indication of the force of its torrent. But the rolling stones and flowing sand had an appeal of their own. Later ages began to hear more of them. In the

[1] *Vid.* T. Nöldeke, *Beitr. z. Geschichte des Alexanderromans*, p. 48.

[2] *Murūj al-Dhahab*, i. 161.

[3] כי תשא, 33.—ולא עוד אלא נהר סמבטיון מעיד שבכל ימים הוא מושך אבנים בחול ובשבת נח. This Midrash is reputed to be the work of R. Tanhuma ban Abba (fourth century). R. 'Aqiba died *c.* A.D. 132. The Babyl. Talmud tractate Sanhedrin (65, 2) gives the story in a fuller form where Sambation is but one of the proofs. It makes no reference to stones and sand. The Babylonian Talmud was completed not later than sixth century A.D.

Latin version of a letter of Prester John [1] we are told: "One of the wonderful things on earth is a waterless sea of sand; for the sand is agitated and swells in waves like every other sea and is never at rest. At a distance of three days from this sand sea are certain mountains from which descends a river of stones without any water. It flows through our territory and falls into the sea of sand. Its current is maintained only for three days in the week; on the other four days the river is fordable. Beyond this river of stones dwell the Ten Tribes, who, though pretending to have kings of their own, are our subjects." This represented the Christian viewpoint, but the Hebrew version of the letter alters that viewpoint considerably. "Know that from this stony sea ומזה הים של אבניהם there flows a river whose source is in Eden. It runs between our territory and that of the great King Daniel. The river runs all the days of the week and on Sabbath it ceases to flow. It contains no water but it causes everything in its course to drift to the sand sea. No one can cross it except on Sabbath. We are obliged to place guards at the borders of our territories to defend it from the incursions of the Jews." Prester John's river of stones was not associated with the Sabbath day in the first instance, but we see how quickly such an association was created.

The location of Sambation was not very clear to Jewish minds. It was very far distant, of that they were sure, in a place where the tribes dwelt in seclusion a sort of purgatory without torments.[2] The Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan expands Exodus xxxiv. 10 to include the explanation, "This means it will place my covenant among them and will not abhor them nor mix them with other nations; but from them there shall arise many just and good people; and I will make signs and do wonders among them when captive in Babylon and deliver them

[1] The original letter, subject of much controversy, dates from the twelfth century.

[2] The geographer Qazwīnī records that the angel Gabriel, when asked by the Prophet to take him to the Banu Mousā (Children of Moses), replied that it would take six years to reach them and six to return and even then he would not be able to arrive at them because they were surrounded by a river of sand which flows fast as an arrow, resting only on Sabbath.—*Athār u'l-bilād*, ed. Wuestenfeld, II, 17.

and conduct them to the other side of the River Sambation. And I will do unto you what I have done unto no other people nor country, and in its terror and greatness it shall surpass everything that was done before."[1] The Ten Tribes having set forth to their captivity in an easterly direction it was natural to look for Sambation, both river and land, in the regions of the east. But when the River Sambation became a river of sand and stones the regions south of Ethiopia began to claim it. Towards the end of the ninth century there appeared in Cairo, Kairwan and Spain a famous figure, concerning whom there has been much controversy, who was known as Eldad the Danite. According to his story he came from beyond the waters of Ethiopia and belonged to the tribe of Dan. He explained that the tribe of Dan refused to fight against Judah and Benjamin in the days of Rehoboam and in consequence migrated to Ethiopia. The tribes of Asher, Gad and Naphtali later joined it there, the remainder of the Ten Tribes settling in Arabia, Babylonia and the lands of the Medes and Persians. His story,[2] which he wrote for the Jews of Spain, proceeds :—

> "As to the tribe of Moses, our teacher . . . the sea surrounds them, three months journey by three months. They dwell in glorious houses and fine buildings and castles, and they train elephants for themselves in their times of joy. No unclean thing is to be found with them."

He then goes on to tell of their wealth in possessions and the fertility of the soil which they cultivate, how they are of perfect faith and live each 100 or 120 years, how all are equal with no servants among them. All are Levites and abide in the sanctity of Moses :—

> "Moreover they see no man and no men see them except these four tribes[3] who dwell on the other side of the rivers of Ethiopia. There is a place where they can see each

[1] This work, known also as the First Jerusalem Targum appears to belong to the latter half of the seventh century.

[2] *vid. Jewish Travellers*, edited by E. N. Adler, London, 1930, p. 5 ff. also M. Schloessinger, *The Ritual of Eldad Ha-Dani*, Leipzig-New York, 1908.

[3] *I.e.* Dan, Gad, Asher, Naphtali.

other and hear if they cry out, but the River Sambation is between them, and they say 'Thus it happened to us in wartime,' and they tell all Israel what happened to them. When they want anything important they have a kind of pigeon known among them, and they write their letters and fasten them to the wings or to the feet of the pigeon, and these cross the River Sambation and the pigeons come to their kings and princes. They also have very many precious stones and silver and gold, and they sow flax and they rear cochineal and make pleasant garments without end, and are five times as numerous as those that came out of Egypt for they are innumerable. The breadth of that river is 200 cubits bowshot, and the river is full of large and small stones and the sound of them rumbles like a great storm, like a tempest at sea, and in the night the sound of it is heard a day's journey off; and they have with them 6 wells and they all unite into one lake and therefrom they irrigate their land and therein are clean edible fish. The river runs and the stones and sand rumble during the six working days, but on the seventh it rests and is tranquil until the end of the Sabbath. And on the other side of the river, on the side where the four tribes dwell, is a fire which flames on Sabbath and no man can approach within a mile."

Evidently Eldad was not always consistent with his story for when the men of Kairwan appealed to the Gaon Zemach inquiring whether they were to accept Eldad's account as true, they furnished the Gaon with some fresh details. According to what Eldad said the sons of Moses, together with their tents and all their possessions, were carried by a cloud to the land of Havilah and deposited there in the night :—

"Moreover he (i.e. Eldad) said to us that our fathers had heard from their fathers that in that night there was a great noise and in the morning they saw a big and mighty army but they were surrounded by a river which ran with stones and dust in a place where there had never been a river before; and this river still flows with stones and dust without water with a great rumbling and a great noise and would

be scattered did it not meet a mountain of iron. And the river flows all the six week days with stones and dust without a drop of water but it rests on the Sabbath day; and at the time when it gets evening at dusk a cloud descends upon it, and no man can touch it till the end of the Sabbath, and its name is Sambation." [1]

The Gaon's response, however, upheld Eldad's version :—

"And as to the Sons of Moses being near them [i.e. the tribes of Dan, Asher, Gad, Naphtali], and the Sambation surrounding them he spoke truth, for thus say our Rabbis in the Midrash. Nebuchadnezzar sent into exile the Levites, the Sons of Moses, sixty myriads, and when they came to the rivers of Babylon, they and their harps, it happened to them as Rabbi Eldad related to you." [2]

Towards the end of the fifteenth century the Italian rabbi Obadiah da Bartinoro, famous for his commentary on the Mishnah, who spent the last thirteen years of his life in Jerusalem, wrote from there in the year 1488 :—

"I made inquiries concerning the Sambation and I hear from one who has been informed that a man has come from the Kingdom of Prester John, and has related that there are high mountains and valleys there which can be traversed in a ten days' journey and which are certainly inhabited by dependents of Israel. They have five princes or kings and have carried on great wars against the Johannites for more than a century but unfortunately the Johannites prevailed and Ephraim was beaten. The Johannites penetrated into their country and laid it waste, and the remembrance of Israel had almost died away in these places. . . . But God had mercy, other kings succeeded in India who were not so cruel as their predecessors, and it is said that the former glory of the Jews is now in a measure restored." [3]

Again he writes :—

"Jews have come here [*i.e*, to Jerusalem] from Aden. . . . These Jews told us that it is now well known through

[1] *Jewish Travellers*, p. 18.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 20.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 238.

Arabian merchants that the River Sambation is fifty days journey from them in the wilderness, and like a thread surrounds the whole land where the descendants of Israel dwell. The river throws up stones and sand and rests only on the Sabbath, therefore, no Jew who is travelling in that country is likely to violate the Sabbath. It is traditional among them that the descendants of Jacob dwell there. This river throws up stones and sand and rests only on the Sabbath, therefore, no Jew can cross over it for otherwise he would violate the Sabbath. It is traditional among them that they are all descendants of Moses, all pure and innocent as angels, and no evildoers in their midst. On the other side of the Sambation the Children of Israel are as numerous as the sand of the sea, and there are many kings and princes among them, but they are not so pure and holy as those surrounded by the stream. The Jews of Aden relate all this with a certain confidence as if it were well known, and no one ever doubted the truth of their assertions."

From the foregoing narratives there emerges the fact that the River Sambation surrounded only the Levites, the Children of Moses, the other tribes, or some at least of them, dwelt in the same neighbourhood but on the other side of the Sambation. It is clear also that to some Jews the Kingdom of Prester John was in the region of India.

About the same time as Bartinoro, or shortly afterwards another famous traveller David Reubeni wrote an account of his travels from 1522-1525. He thus gives account of himself :—

"I am from the wilderness of Habor and we have thirty times ten thousand Jews there (may the Lord increase them a thousand fold). They are the Sons of Reuben and Gad, and of the half-tribe of Manasseh, and King Joseph, my brother, is their king and I am the lord of his host; and the other nine and a half tribes are in the land of the blacks in Ethiopia in four places, and the Sons of Moses are in another place, and live on the River Sambation, beside the two tribes of Simeon and Benjamin, who dwell at the head of the River Nile and the White river behind it. They are

between two rivers, beyond the Kingdom of Sheba. These two tribes send men to us and we send men to them, and they tell us what we hear and know of the other tribes in the land of blacks which are near to them, and our country is far from them as we are in the east."[1]

Although Africa with its rivers of sand and stones was a natural location of Sambation, India as representing the Far East was perhaps the more favoured. In the confused ideas of geography prevailing, that did not represent such a big divergence of locality as might be supposed, for India was pictured as over against Ethiopia, separated by a strip of sea. Rabbi Petachia, who travelled the East in the twelfth century, declared that the prophet Ezekiel's tomb was a distance in the desert of a day or a day and a half from Baghdad, and from the tomb of Ezekiel to the Sambation is a further forty days.[2] Another Jewish traveller Elijah of Ferrara (15th cent.) says, "An old man informed me that he had been in India, which is in the Far East facing Cush (Ethiopia) to the west, a sea and a desert separating them. . . . The Children of Moses live upon an island in the River Sambation; the tribe of Manasseh live opposite them. Beyond the river are the tribes of Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher." He goes on to give the location of the other tribes very much in accord with Eldad's version.

Early in the sixteenth century the French rabbi Abraham Peritzol of Avignon wrote a work entitled ארחות עולם[3] (Paths of the World). In his preface, he speaks of the River Sambation "which is in India above Persia in their settlements." He places the source of the Sambation in the regions of Upper India which lie amidst the rivers Ganyas "which is in our tongue Gozan." He informs us that Halah and Habor are higher in the continent

[1] *Jewish Travellers*, pp. 295 f.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 74 f.

[3] Edited by T. Hyde in Ugolini, *Thes. Antiq. Sac.* vii (Venice, 1647). The name Peritzol is elsewhere written פריסזל and pronounced Paresol or rather Parasol, as Hyde quaintly explains cujus significatio appellativa est i.q. *Quittesol* seu *une Ombrelle* qua in calidoribus regionibus utuntur homines ad caput a sole tuendum. . . . With a pretty wit he entitled one of his books מגן אברהם (*The Shield of Abraham*) "which I called after my name" [. . . וקראתי שמו מגן אברהם כשמי

than Mecca and Calicut. The source of the River Sambation is above Calicut "and separates those Indians from part of the Kingdom of the Jews; and there you will assuredly find it."[1]

Peritzol was very definite as to the locality but he does not say that he visited the Sambation and saw it with his own eyes. All the evidence adduced by travellers was always hearsay evidence. No one was able to say he had stood on its bank and been thrilled by its marvels. It is not surprising then to find a Jew with his heart set on reaching the river and prepared to adventure in search of it. It is the story of such an one which it now falls to us to consider. In the year 5578 A.M. (A.D. 1817), a certain Moses Edrehi, a native of Morocco who claimed descent from the tribe of Naphtali, wrote a book in Hebrew entitled ספר מעשה נסים which he subsequently translated into English with the title *A Book of Miracles.*[2] In his book he quotes largely from another book with the title דרך הישר (*The Straight Road*). There is given in it the account of a journey undertaken in the year 1630 by a Jew whose imagination was stirred by what he had heard of the Ten Tribes and who determined to seek them out. This Jew is not mentioned by name by Edrehi, but he must, I think, be Gershon ben Eliezer who travelled in India in that year and wrote a work entitled גלילות ארץ ישראל (The Bounds of the Land of Israel). But where to look for the Ten Tribes our traveller found no easy matter. "There are those who say they live near the River Sambation; and others that they are on the other side of the river; some again say they are after you pass the River Gozan; and others that they dwell on the other side of the הרי חשך (the mountains of darkness). Whilst I was being told of their greatness, their kings, etc., my heart leaped for joy".[3] He made inquiries in Alexandria to the same end, "but one said one thing and another another." Eventually he got word of a caravan which had reached Salonica to go to Sambation. He proceeded thither and made overtures to the leader to join it.

[1] *L.c.* col. 193/4.

[2] M. Edrehi, *A Book of Miracles: An historical account of the Ten Tribes settled beyond the River Sambatyon in the East; with many other curious matters relating to the state of the Israelites in various parts of the World*, etc., London, 1836.

[3] Edrehi, *l.c.*, p. 32.

"I went to him, I was well received and asked all I wished to know about the journey and the expense. He satisfied all my questions, the subject and substance of which was that from Salonique to Sam, called Mecca by the Mahometans, it takes twelve months, sometimes eight, six, and even five months; but it all depends upon the weather. He informed me of the whole road from place to place through the whole journey to Sambation, all of which I noted down in my memorandum book; and, as I could speak their language well, the Arabic, and was acquainted with their manners and customs, I was the more emboldened to speak and to go with them; and anxious, like many of my brethren, to describe the wonders of Sambation, I asked whether I might be allowed to purchase some iron and trade in it like other merchants; and I was answered in the affirmative. . . . So, friendly reader, if I were to write at length what I have seen in the cities, towns, provinces and countries, it would fill a thousand books. I will, however, tell you in brief: I arrived at Mecca and Guda [1] near the sea of Sus, near which country is the burial-place of Mahomet, besides other curiosities. From thence we went to Siquetny, Aystera, and the desert near there: and I saw many curious things; among others I saw some strange animals having five feet, three eyes, and being six feet in height.[2] . . . After passing many deserts as far as the mountains of Tafton we arrived at a city called Kibar . . . after leaving these we came to a city called Dbrei Vaben, near the river Guenias [3] or Gozan, on the banks of which is situated the city Guena. From that city begin the cities of Kalikut filled with rich Jewish merchants. . . . Beyond the desert of Kalikut is the River Sambation; but as the desert is infested with robbers I did not cross it. Notwithstanding there were many in the caravan we went by sea. . . . We went from place to place till we came to Maray Francos. . . . From Maray Francos to Sambatyon, is two days' journey. . . . When we came to the city near to Sambatyon,

[1] Perhaps Jeddah.

[2] We are told that the author of the book wrote in his preface "I swear by the living God of Israel, in whose hands are the souls of all men, that I will not tell them a falsehood in this book."

[3] Perhaps the Gihon (גיחון), or Ganges (?).

we heard a great noise and roar, as of a tempest; and the nearer we approached Sambatyon the greater was the noise. We were told what it was, namely, the river, and that we ought not to go out of the city we were in a single step on account of the danger from the Jews who threaten the Pristians,[1] because the king of the Pristians' country injured the merchants and citizens of that place, who are posted, armed, as guards of the River Sambatyon out of affection to the Jews who come from the other side of Sambatyon and carry on war against the Pristians whose king pays tribute to the Jews; and when he wishes to free himself, the Jews of Sambatyon wage war against the Pristians. . . . We were obliged to remain three weeks during which time I made many inquiries concerning the River Sambatyon of the Jews who live there, and respecting the city of Pristian. Of everything I asked I obtained a separate answer."

"Touching the river they told me that every day in the week the stones rise to the height of a house. When they said that I asked them why did they need guards as nobody could pass during the week, including the Jews, for fear of the stones? they answered that they were wanted only two hours before Sabbath, when the stones remain still and quiet and that many Jews come mounted on good horses and cross the river in less than an hour. . . . On Sabbath there is no guard, it is not permitted. Respecting the history of the Jews in Sambatyon they told me that when they make war, they destroy the cities and take away everything they find therein until they oblige their enemies to pay the annual tribute. They then go to the city and cross the River Sambatyon an hour before Sabbath, and return home cheerful and contented. . . .

"The river in some places is seventeen miles broad, and all the week the stones are thrown as high as a lofty house; the noise is so great as to be heard at the distance of two days' journey; and on the Friday, two hours before the Sabbath they remain undisturbed. The river dries up and the stones disappear and nothing is seen but very white sand, and on the

[1] People of Prester John. The confusion of Ethiopia and India current in early times is probably the reason why the mysterious Prester John was first of all associated with India and the East.

going out of the Sabbath everything continues as it was before. On the Sabbath the Gentiles are heard making a great lamentation, because they can get no water to drink as the river is holy and reposes on the Sabbath. They allow no quadrupeds to approach or live near it ; and persons afflicted with leprosy by washing in that water become clean."

Then marvellous tales follow of the Sambatyon horses, fed on sheep's flesh cut up small and given wine to drink. They neigh prodigiously, kick furiously and cross the River Sambatyon in one hour. The name of the principal king is Eleazar, a giant nine feet tall with a sword six fingers broad and three yards long. He can kill 800 at once. There is also another king, Daniel, who has a *cronocal* (carbuncle), which gives as much light as seven candles, and is brought out to give light on the Sabbath day. They have wonderful stuffs including silk, cotton, and linen goods as well as gold, silver and diamond mines.

" Now, my friends, I will tell you a wonderful story which I swear before God to be true, that in that year (5390 = 1629) the King of Pristian sent five governors with a present to King Eleazar ; and as in the city they were not aware of my being a Jew, I was invited to see it. It was a wonderful man without a head, whose mouth and eyes were in his breast. He was a savage and his food was fish alone."

They could not, however, send him across Sambatyon because he was uncircumcised. Also our traveller reports that in the year 5308 (1547) eight Jews came from Europe and crossed Sambatyon on the Sabbath day. They were haled before the King who asked them how they dared cross the river on the Sabbath day thus profaning it and incurring the penalty of death. They claimed that they did so fleeing for their lives, and having survived an examination in the Hebrew books they were permitted to settle there.

" Thence I went travelling these remote parts till I came to some high mountains called the Netbon. But before I proceed further I will relate what happened in the last country adjoining Sambatyon. I made my fortune by the iron I took with me which weighed three hundred and thirty-six pounds Turkish,

which I exchanged with the Jews of Sambatyon for the same weight in gold. . . . I travelled as far as the Netbon mountains which were far off on the other side of Kalikut which are noted for their pearls; and beyond them is the place where the four tribes of Dan, Naphtali, Zebulon, and Asher are settled whose lands are very extensive."

He tells us he proceeded thence to the River Guechon (גיחון) "from which place begins the country of Cush" (Ethiopia). He then pursued his adventurous journey back to Greece encountering on the way "fourteen birds which spit on the people in the caravan; and the people died from their spit, as it was virulent poison and issued from their beaks like fire." So failed another effort to reach the mysterious Sambatyon entered upon with such high hopes. But if our traveller failed when within striking distance of his goal he has at least added much to our knowledge of river, land and people!

But we have kept the greatest witness to Sambation to the end. It is a letter sent by the Jews on the farther side of the River Sambatyon to the Rabbis of Jerusalem. It is unfortunately only a copy with which we have to deal.

"The copy is preserved in the library of the learned Rabbi Solomon Dobna, of glorious memory, and when I, Moses Edrehi, the author of this work, studied the Talmud in the famous Portuguese Jews' Academy at Amsterdam I made a copy of that letter. The letter which was sent to Jerusalem by the Sons of Moses on the other or further side of Sambatyon called Beni Moseh (בני משה) arrived there *anno mundi* 5407 [1646], copies of parts of that letter were sent to various congregations, the whole letter being too long as it contains a minute description of Sambatyon and its inhabitants." [1]

The chief Rabbis of the Holy Land in sending out copies of the letter proceed to explain how they chanced to come by it. It was their practice to send abroad messengers, chosen by lot, to collect contributions on which they were dependent. In the year 5407 it fell to Rabbi Baruch to go to Muca (מוקא) and the Levant. His caravan was attacked in the middle of the desert and R. Baruch alone escaped with his life. Whilst wandering

[1] Edrehi, *l.c.*, p. 55.

on, famishing and spent, he encountered a horseman who wanted to kill him, but on hearing he was a Jew alighted and embraced him, supplied him with food and, having given him a *Kaminga* [1] קמיעא», left him in order to deliver the letter to his brethren of the Ten Tribes on the farther side of the River Sambation. The horseman returned in three days with the letter for the Rabbis of Jerusalem, furnished R. Baruch with food, as well as gold and diamonds, and set him safely on the road to Babylon.

The letter of the men of Sambation tells of the state of the Children of Israel who dwell on the farther side of the river and who weep day and night on account of the destruction of the Holy Temple and the length of their bitter captivity and solitude in these distant regions. They repeat the tale of the river with which the reader has become familiar. "No one can approach us, for being surrounded by the River Sambatyon over which nobody can cross, as the stones all the week dash against each other with fury and noise, besides the flames of fire which are round the river. The only time to cross it is on a Sabbath, which being over the river returns to its usual state; and when the four tribes come to speak to us we are on one side and they on the other."

They describe the wealth and comfort they enjoy, and add that they are not allowed to write what they hear, for all the week they hear a very extraordinary and loud voice from heaven, *Bath Kul* בת קול. In conclusion they say, "You will not say that we are not the Children of Moses; for we are many millions and have twenty-four kings and are more powerful and rich than any other nation on the earth; such also are the four tribes on the opposite side of Sambatyon, who are powerful and strong and rich, as numerous as the sand of the sea, great warriors and able to assist you and deliver you from captivity; only we cannot leave our territories, for such was the decree of God, until we shall be able to do so at the hour of rejoicing which is to come and which is promised in the prophecies of Isaiah "say to those that are in prison, be free; and to those that are in darkness, see the light." [2]

The Sambation tales might now appear to have reached the

[1] An amulet.

[2] Isaiah xlix. 9.

limit of creative imagination. Or perhaps not quite. One more magical element falls to be added to the tale.

"Now, kind and honourable readers, I, the author of this work, declare on my word of honour, that I have heard it said by many respectable and trustworthy persons, that they saw at Rome, amongst many other curious things which are there, a sand glass the sand of which was taken out of the River Sambatyon. The sand runs all the week and stops on the Sabbath day. It has also been seen at Leghorn; and, consequently, my friendly readers, with the understanding God has given you, you will judge by this wonderful history that it is true and certain, and, moreover, that it is a thing which is written about in the Talmud, etc." [1]

From the Samaritan side the evidence of the existence of a tradition involving the Sabbatic River is meagre, yet it is sufficient to reveal a marked divergence from the Jewish standpoint. We know that the Jews had no dealings with the Samaritans, and the converse is also true. It is well illustrated in this cycle of legends regarding the fate of the Ten Tribes in which the Samaritans claim to have a more direct interest than the Jews. While both agree in placing the Ten Tribes either beside or beyond a river which observes the Sabbath, there is no indication that the Samaritans ever evolved for their river the highly magical features of the Sambation. Their river flowed with water. It does not roll down stones and sand, nor is its Sabbath calm disturbed by flaming fire, nor darkened by murky cloud. In the eighteenth century they can still think of it as a relatively tranquil arm of the sea, or a broad river over whose waters an "ark" can still float. If there should arise any question of the relative age of the traditions the Samaritan has the better signs of age. They called the river by its Hebrew name Shabbath (שבת), or its corresponding Arabic name Sabt (سبت). The Jews used the Greek-Hebrew Sambation (סמבטיון), which betrays both the age and the source of the tradition. The Jews down the

[1] Edrehi, *l.c.*, p. 18. A similar statement is made by Manasseh ben Israel (17th cent.) in his מקוה ישראל, x. 39, to the effect that when the sand of Sambation is kept in a glass it is agitated during six days of the week and quiescent on the Sabbath.

ages have produced many great travellers. No race had better facilities for travel. In every city of importance in every corner of the known world there were Jewish communities prepared to assist a traveller of their own faith. Judging from their narratives travel in the early days seemed to incite those who indulged in it to stretch credulity to its utmost limit. But how the people of ages, not even very far removed from our own, loved such travellers' tales and thrilled to their recital! There were, of course, even in those days, sceptics. One such was C. B. Otho,[1] who, a few years after Meshalmah's letter was written, attacked the Sambation legend in vigorous Latin. After tearing it to pieces he laid down his pen with the words :

Ivimus itaque per concitatos monstrosi fluminis impetus, exhausimus saxosos, qui damnosa naufragia minabantur, gurgites, sedavimus qui per arenosos vortices grassabantur turbines, et perpetuis Sambationem feriari jubemus Sabbathis.[2]

[1] *Dissertatio de Flumine Sabbathico*, Ugolini, *Thesaurus*, vii.
[2] *Ibid.* col. 1031.

A NOTE ON ROLLS SERIES 8.

By FRANK TAYLOR, M.A.,

KEEPER OF WESTERN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

TRINITY HALL, Cambridge, MS. 1, which contains an anonymous and unfinished account of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, was edited in the Rolls Series (8) in 1858. From internal evidence Hardwick, the editor, suggested Thomas Elmham as the compiler [1] and, as the work has no original title, named it *Historia Monasterii S. Augustini.*[2]

The *Historia* is the earliest of Elmham's three main works, the other two being the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* [3] and the *Liber Metricus de Henrico Quinto,*[4] in that order. He also composed

[1] Hardwick, pp. xix-xxiii. Hardwick also noticed a " remarkable similarity of style and spirit " between the work he was editing and the *Vita et Gesta Henrici Quinti* (ed. Hearne, 1727), which, following Hearne, he ascribed to Elmham. It has since been shown that the *Vita* is not by Elmham.

[2] For an account of the Cambridge MS., which is apparently the only contemporary copy extant, *v.* Hardwick, pp. xvii-xix, and James, *Cat. of the MSS. in the Library of Trinity Hall* (1907). It has been well known to later antiquaries (*cf.* Hardwick, p. xviii). Harley MS. 686 is a modern copy of it, omitting the chronological table, and there are extracts from it in, for example, Harl. MSS. 539 (by Stowe) and 1757, Sloane MS. 1301, Lansdowne MS. 229, Burney MS. 368, B.M. Add. MS. 4936, and Gonville and Caius, Cambridge, MS. 391. The chronological table was printed separately by Twysden (*Decem Scriptores*, pp. 2229 *sqq.*) and a shortened version by Agard is in Cotton MS. Vitell. E. XIV, ff. 177 *sqq.* Lambeth MS. 362, ff. 19-19v., contains two extracts in a 16th cent. hand *ex annalibus monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariae de fundatione ad Henrici Quinti 7um annum* [1419/20] *deductis.* As the extracts agree verbatim with the first two paragraphs of Hardwick, p. 221, this is probably an error for 6 Hen. 5 ; the chronological table to the *Historia* has entries down to 1418.

[3] Printed by J. A. Giles in *Incerti Scriptoris Chronicon de regnis . . . Henrici IV, Henrici V et Henrici VI* (1848) and edited by B. Williams in *Gesta Henrici Quinti* (Eng. Hist. Soc., 1850).

[4] Ed. C. A. Cole in *Memorials of Henry the Fifth*, 1858 (R.S.). Cole knew of seven copies. There are, however, two more extant, Hunterian (Glasgow) MSS., U. 5. 3 and V. 1. 16, both 15th cent. and both previously owned by Thomas Martin, the Norfolk antiquary. The former is the " Codex Martinianus " mentioned by Hearne in the *Vita*, p. 426.

a chronological work, the *Cronica Regum Nobilium Anglie*, which in date falls between the *Historia* and the *Gesta*. As this contains an interesting reference to the *Historia*, it is proposed to deal with it briefly here.

The *Cronica Regum Nobilium Anglie* [1] is contained in Cotton MS. Claudius E. IV (ff. 1-32) and was compiled between 21 March and 31 December, 1416; [2] that is, after Elmham had left St. Augustine's for Lenton. It comprises a prologue of two folios,[3] a section *De Quintuplici Statu Britonum*, and, after a blank of a page and a half, a chronological table which, as extant, extends from A.D. 1 to 1389. In the prologue Elmham states that he intends to divide the work into three books; [4] the first to extend from the coming of Hengist to the coming of St. Augustine, the second from the coming of St. Augustine to the landing of the Conqueror and the third from the Conqueror *usque in presens* (f. 3). Whether he completed his intention is not known, but this statement, the collation and the fact that the chronological table ends at the foot of f. 32v. with the comparatively unimportant year 1389 (for which it has an entry), indicate that the Cotton MS. is incomplete.[5] In the prologue Elmham also refers to the difficulties he has met with in his search for accurate information, both chronological and as regards the

[1] Referred to in earlier catalogues as *Annales Brittonum*. It is extant only in this copy. Elmham reveals his authorship in capitals spelling "Thomas Elmham Prior Lentonie" (f. 2). The remaining contents of the volume, listed by a later hand on f. 33, relate to St. Alban's Abbey and are well known; they include, for example, the *Gesta Abbatum* (ed. H. T. Riley in R.S.). A second contents' list, to include the *Cronica Regum*, was written later on f. 1v and the pagination of the volume altered to include its 32 folios.

[2] *A conquestu enim usque ad annum presentem, qui est annus domini m^l^ccccxvj, sunt anni CCCL, . . . et sic ab adventu Anglorum in Brittaniam usque ad annum presentem, qui est annus quartus illustrissimi principis et domini, domini Henrici Regis Anglie post conquestum huius nomini quinti, sunt anni DCCCCLXVIJ*, f. 3.

[3] ff. 2-3v., printed in part by Hearne in the *Vita*, pp. 377-81.

[4] Tanner's misreading of this led Hearne to think that Elmham was the author of a longer English History in three books. See the correspondence in *Hearne's Collections* (ed. H. E. Salter, Oxf. Hist. Soc.), ix. 350, 360, 364.

[5] It lacks, perhaps, another folio; that is, if the table was brought down to *c.* 1416 and ended there. This was missing in 1674, as the description in a class catalogue of that year shows (Harl. MS. 694, f. 288, *Thomae Elmham Annales Brittonorum . . . usque ad tempora Ricardi II. Claud. E. IV*); also, of course, in 1696, when Smith's Catalogue was published.

spelling of proper names, and in this respect contrasts the period before the coming of St. Augustine with that after. For that part of his work dealing with the former period he begs the reader's indulgence, for *ob cronicatorum dissonanciam certum et absque ambiguitate directorium non inveni.*[1] He continues, *a fundacione tamen illius excellentis ac regalis monasterii Apostolorum Petri et Pauli Cantuarie* [St. Augustine's] . . . *certam annorum quotacionem, deo concedente, interserrere non omittam, quam plana directione bullarum summarum pontificum nec non codicellorum et cartarum regalium didici, prout patet per tabulam cuiusdam tractatus que in pretacto regali monasterio diligenti studio compilavi, qui* Speculum Augustinianum *notatur, cuius libri tenorem huic operi intendo coniungere pro loco et tempore oportunis.*[2] Apart from the fact that there is no other known work of Elmham to which this could apply, there can be little doubt that it is a reference to the compilation which Hardwick named *Historia Monasterii S. Augustini.* The latter is a *tractatus,*[3] preceded by a chronological table beginning in A.D. 597.[4] It was compiled at St. Augustine's and discontinued about 1414, the year in which Elmham was appointed prior of Lenton.[5] Both table and *tractatus* are full of the bulls, charters and other documents to which he refers.[6] Various entries in the two works agree word for word and a number of small events are recorded in both. The statement about the value of the abbey muniments is also repeated [7] and there is a similar complaint of the inaccuracy and credulity of *cronicatores.*[8]

The following additions to our knowledge of Elmham for

[1] Cotton Claud. E. IV, f. 3.

[2] *Ib.*, ff. 3-3v.

[3] See its opening words, Hardwick, p. 77.

[4] *Augustinus venit in Angliam*, Hardwick, p. 2.

[5] *V.* Hardwick, pp. xix-xx.

[6] *E.g.* Hardwick, pp. 2, 3, 6, 7, 9-15, 21, 28-40, 41-60, 65-71, for the table; pp. 109-15, 118-24, 129-31, 144-6, for the text, together with the collection of over one hundred and twenty charters and bulls at the end (pp. 347-479). The bad reputation of these charters and bulls does not, of course, affect the present argument.

[7] *Ib.*, pp. 309-10. They are similarly used to settle points of chronology, e.g. *ib.*, pp. 137, 264, 326. See also the passage dealing with the corruption of proper names, *ib.* p. 338.

[8] *Ib.*, pp. 185-6, 260, 276, 279, 309, 324.

the period before 1414 may be noticed here.[1] According to the chronological table in his *Cronica Regum*[2] he was born on 8 April, 1364;[3] that is, he was about fifty years of age when he left St. Augustine's. Another entry in the same table records that his mother Sabina was born in 1314.[4] We do not know definitely to which house he was first attached,[5] but he was professed in 1379.[6] In a Compotus Roll of St. Augustine's for 1407-8 he occurs as a scholar at Oxford, together with John Sturr and John Hawkherst.[7] There is one other reference to him in the same Roll, the record of a payment of twenty shillings to *magister* Dionysius Lopham for a deed made for him;[8] the character of the deed is not indicated. In his Will, dated 4 February 1413,[9] Lopham is described as *clericus*, of London.[10]

[1] The best single account of Elmham is by J. H. Wylie, *The Reign of Henry the Fifth*, ii. 82-8. See also Rose Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, pp. 67-72.

[2] With this table and the one in Hardwick, pp. 2-73, should be compared Pepys MS. 2314, now at Magdalene College (*Chronicle Roll of St. Augustine's Abbey. c.* 1450. See the full description in James, *Bibliotheca Pepysiana*, iii. 84-5). The Pepys MS. is not independent of either, but many of the entries which it has in common with both it assigns to different years.

[3] Cotton MS. Claud. E. IV, f. 32v.

[4] *Ib.*, f. 32. Both entries are faint and in a browner ink than the rest of the table.

[5] Either Lenton or Bermondsey seems possible, but neither may be correct. *Cf.* Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 67n.

[6] " efficitur monachus," Cotton MS. Claud. E. IV, f. 32v.

[7] Harl. Roll Z 19, recto. It is hoped to deal more fully with this Roll in a later note. In the incipit to his verses on the death of Henry IV (printed in Wright, *Political Poems and Songs* (R.S.), ii. 118 *sqq.*), Elmham is called S.T.P. and in a reference of 1421 *in theologia scolaris* (*Chapters of the English Black Monks*, ed. W. A. Pantin, Camden Soc., 3rd Ser., xlvii. 107).

[8] Harl. Roll, Z 19, recto. He is called *frater Thomas Elmham.* Immediately following is a payment of 20d. to Lopham's clerk.

[9] Lopham's Will (not dated 1414, as printed *Index*) is in Harl. Chart. 55 H. 4. Incidentally the villages of Lopham and North Elmham are both in Norfolk. *Cf.* Elmham's particular reference to North Elmham in Hardwick, p. 167, and the evidence that he was a Norfolk man (*Ib.*, p. xxi).

[10] The following (15th cent.) occurs on the flyleaf of a 13th century Bible from St. Augustine's, now C.C.C.C. MS. 49: " Mem. quod dominus Thomas Elnam [?] habet 4 (or x) s. viz. sed consummatum est. Hec scripta sunt in libro. Ihesus exivit de templo et corroboravit templum " (*v.* James, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, i. 98-100).

ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲟⲙⲱⲥ̅ⲓ̅ ⲧⲟⲩⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ̅
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ⲧⲉⲭⲉⲙⲛⲉⲩ ⲱⲙⲉⲙⲛⲧⲙ̅ⲛ̅
ⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲥⲙⲡⲉⲩ ⲥⲉⲉⲓⲁⲛⲉⲩⲃⲓⲭ
ⲃⲱⲛⲧⲥⲓⲥⲉ ⲛ̅ⲱⲟⲣⲡⲭⲉⲥⲉ
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ⲁⲣⲙⲧⲟⲩⲥⲉⲛ ⲉⲱⲧⲧⲉⲩⲣⲣⲟ
ⲥⲁⲡⲁⲥⲟⲩⲁⲩ ⲗⲉⲥⲱⲱⲕⲁⲩⲱ
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ⲣⲟⲥⲉⲧⲱⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲓⲭⲛⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩ
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ⲟⲥⲛⲁⲩⲙⲡⲥⲟⲡ ⲛⲉⲩⲓⲕⲉⲫⲛⲣⲉ·
ⲉⲛⲉⲩⲱⲙⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲧⲃⲟⲧⲙ
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ⲭⲉⲙⲓⲟⲕⲡⲉ· ⲙⲁⲧⲉⲗⲓⲉⲧ
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ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲣⲅⲛⲧⲛⲣⲥ
ⲭⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁⲙⲡⲕⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱⲉⲥ
ⲕⲉⲛⲃⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲉⲓⲉⲥⲣⲁⲓⲉⲭⲱ
ⲭⲟⲟⲥⲛⲁⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲭⲱⲟⲛⲉⲥ

A NOTEWORTHY SAHIDIC VARIANT IN A SHENOUTE HOMILY IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

By the REV. D. P. BUCKLE, M.A.

IN a previous number of the Bulletin (vol. 4, pp. 312 f.), attention was called to the value of Biblical citations in manuscripts of homilies and their importance for textual criticism. A list of over sixty examples in the sixteen pages of Coptic MS. 70 was there given. A recent discussion in the Hellenistic Greek Seminar, founded by Dr. J. H. Moulton in 1913, has revealed the necessity of adding another, which is probably more significant than any of the texts noted in that article.

The hopelessly puzzling word πυγμῇ in Mark vii. 3 (AV "oft" RV "diligently" or "up to the elbow") cannot be explained without ungrammatical forcing of language. As the ordinary text even with its great array of attestation by important uncials cannot be interpreted satisfactorily, the textual problem becomes important. There is an old saying, "When in doubt, consult the Vulgate." Reference to the "Novum Testamentum Latine" of Wordsworth and White gives the text:

Nisi crebro lavent manus
non manducant

and the apparatus

misi, + prius, g
crebro, *codd. omn et vg*
= πυκνά *et sic gr* ℵ *et f* g_2 *l aug gig :*
veteres plerumque reddunt
πυγμη (*vel* στιγμη ?)
momento *a*
subinde *b*
pugillo c ff_2 i q r
primo (πυκμη D) do

The New Tischendorf (ed. C. S. E. Legg), after giving the ten uncials on which the ordinary text is based, adds :

πυκνα ℵ W,
= diligenter, *Syriac* (*pesh*)
Coptic (bo) *Aeth*
om Δ Coptic (sa)

Mr. Legg's labours in the accumulation of so much detailed information must be acknowledged with due respect, but his apparatus requires modification. The Bohairic, edited by Horner from the Bodleian MS., reads " many times," but in the Curzon Catena in the British Museum it has the equivalent of the OLd, " Primo." Dr. Rendel Harris, in his " Study of the Codex Bezae " (*Texts and Studies*, vol. 2), writes that the Thebaic (i.e. Sahidic) rests in part on a Latin basis. The annexed facsimile is one proof of this and is welcomed as such by Canon Streeter, whose principle is that the pedigree of manuscripts is more important than their age. In the sixth line of the second column is the word N̄SORP well known to authorities like Dr. Crum and Sir Herbert Thompson as meaning " first." Sir Herbert kindly tells me that the passage in the Curzon Catena is an extract from a commentary by Severus of Antioch, who quotes the passage from Mark (by name) giving the same expression as the Shenoute homily, though reversing the order of protasis and apodosis.

Obviously there were three recensions, one giving πυγμη and the others πυκνα and πρωτον. Strictly accurate classical scholars who desire a definitely comparative form may refer to Ecclesiasticus xi. 7 : πρὶν ἢ ἐξετάσῃς μὴ μέμψῃ, νόησον πρῶτον καὶ τότε ἐπιτίμα and note that the Sahidic version of the passage gives the same expression as the Shenoute homily.